National Anti-Slavery Standard.

VOL. XXIV. NO. 35. NEW YORK, SATURDAY, JANUARY 9, 1864. WHOLE NO. 1,231.

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

PUBLISHED WEEKLY, ON SATURDAY,

AT $2 50 PER ANNUM,

BY THE

AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY,

At its Office, No. 48 Beekman Street, New York

AND AT THE OFFICE OF THE

PENNSYLVANIA ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY,

106 *North-Tenth Street, Philadelphia.*

LETTERS should be addressed to OLIVER JOHNSON, *Editor of The Anti-Slavery Standard*, 48 Beekman-st., New York.

ADVERTISEMENTS, 10 cents per line each insertion.

THE STANDARD.

SPEECH

OF

WENDELL PHILLIPS, ESQ.,

AT THE

COOPER INSTITUTE, NEW YORK,

On Tuesday Evening, Dec. 22, 1863, *on President Lincoln's Message and Proclamation.*

A VERY large audience assembled at Cooper Institute, Tuesday evening, Dec. 22d, to hear Wendell Phillips's criticism on the President's late message and Proclamation.

John E. Williams, Esq., was nominated by G. W. Smalley, to preside, and in a few patriotic remarks introduced the orator of the evening.

Mr. Phillips, after the applause with which he was greeted had subsided, said:

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: Four years ago this month, I had the honor to assist in giving the body of John Brown to the hills he loved. Selfishness, which steals the name of conservatism, sneered at his life as a ridiculous failure. And some men, who called themselves his friends, excused his attempt on the ground that he was a lunatic. We know better now. The rebellion has broken into the cabinets of the conspirators; and we know of a surety, that the echoes of his rifles had hardly died away on the banks of the Shenandoah, before South Carolina prepared for war in defence of her system. Four years have rolled away. And now, December 8th, exactly on the fourth anniversary day of his burial, the victorious President of the nation offers eleven rebel States permission to return to the Union, on conditions which John Brown would gladly have accepted after twenty years of hard fighting. Marvelous progress in four years. Well might the old man say, as he did, to Theodore Parker, "I may fall—I may expiate my rashness on the gibbet, but I open a terrible vial." But the terms which would have been gladly accepted in 1859—naked, bald, technical liberty for the negro—are not to be thought of for a moment in 1863 (applause). Let me remind you of the trite story of the Roman sybil. She came to Tarquin with her nine books, and offered them for a thousand crowns; turned away, she came back with six books at the same price of a thousand crowns; refused, she came back a third time with only three books, still for a thousand crowns. So the conscience of the North, in 1821, would gladly have granted peace at the price of only the freedom of the territories. In 1831, she demanded immediate and total emancipation wherever the flag floats. Both were contemptuously refused, and after the gun at Sumter, followed by three years of blood and costly war, there is no safe, no admissible condition of peace, but the substantial, practical protection of the freedom of the negro, and the elements of national life so arranged as to guarantee peace and democracy forever within the borders of the nation (applause).

It is in the light of this reminiscence and of this necessity, that I am going to criticize for you to-night the message and proclamation of the President on the 8th day of the present month, contending that his plan for reconstruction is now neither wise, safe, nor feasible. Some men say, why make any serious criticism of the proclamation? We know very well that Mr. Lincoln does not expect that it will be accepted, and only makes the offer that the South's refusal may put her in an indefensible position before the world. I would not insult the head of this great nation by asserting, that in such a momentous hour he offers terms of peace which he is not willing to have accepted. No man who trusts either the sincerity or the honesty of Abraham Lincoln can look to the proclamation in any other light than as a declaration of the terms on which the President is willing the Union may be reconstructed. But apart from that, no matter what be our individual judgment of the President, every man knows that the masses will take, and they have a right to take, and cannot avoid taking, that declaration of the government as containing admissible and safe conditions of reconstruction. The public purpose and effort will crystallize round that, will sink to that level. Every man, in looking forward and forming his plans, will fall into full content with finally getting as much as the President claims. This is one of the most dangerous effects of this proclamation. It will, unless frankly criticized, let the purpose of the nation down to a dangerous level. Every one looks up to the President as acquainted beyond any other individual with the difficulties and details of this question. The public regard him as surveying it from a loftier outlook than is permitted to any other man. And we should do him an injustice, which the masses of the nation will never do him, to suppose that the proclamation does not, in his deliberate judgment, and with full knowledge of the facts, contain secure guaranties for the future peace and integrity of the Union.

Again, other men say, why criticize the President? You know very well that he is a growing man, with his face Zionward; you know very well, in the Spring of 1862, he said to the States, emancipate before it is too late, while you may make a good bargain; that in the Fall of the same year he had travelled on to the proclamation of September 22d, a hundred days after to the proclamation of the first of January. I know it. All honor to the growing man—all honor to the recipient intellect who loves to learn and grow better. But how does he learn? Why did he grow? Because we watered him (applause and laughter). Why did he advance? Because the nation pushed him on (applause and laughter). I am here to ask you to persevere in the same effort. Even with regard to those steps, the proclamation early in 1862, the arming of the negroes, the proclamation of September 1862, and that of January 1863, I should do no injustice to the President if I said that the nation *forced* him to them. Indeed, the President's merit is that the obstinacy of his resistance is not so strong as are the force of events and the pressure of public opinion, which crush it. But he delayed even those steps so long as to almost exhaust the patience and confidence of his own friends. I believe he took them reluctantly at last. And here let me correct the exaggeration of the press, in speaking of my interview with Mr. Lincoln, on the 25th day of January 1863. His remark has been grossly exaggerated. What he did say was this. Referring to his proclamation of September and that of January as, in truth, one act, and to the democratic triumphs that intervened, he said that he doubted whether the proclamation had not done more harm than good; and this view he argued for some time pertinaciously. Then, as now, his anxiety was more in regard to Northern opinion than Southern battles; and indeed, he seems to allude to that state of his mind in the sentence of his recent message where, in reference to the Emancipation Proclamation, he says, "Then followed dark and doubtful days." He soon learned from you to believe otherwise. Now his whole heart is in that act. Do *your* part as well now again, and he may be made to believe in a method of reconstruction much safer and better than the one he has suggested. But further and apart from this, 1862 is not 1863. The terrible exasperation of fierce battles lost and gained urged him on. The bloody months that followed, the sore hearts, the indignant millions, demanded more, and the President at the head of the nation drifted with the great national purpose. He might then have *said* what he chose. Events overruled him. As in the ballad,

> "The king said 'sail,'
> The wind said 'no.'"

But we touch the latter half of the war. We come in this contest to the epoch not of battle, but of politics, when the President's *words* are far more influential than they were two years ago: when battles are becoming secondary, and political engineering is primary in importance. We come in this civil strife to that epoch which 1781 and 1782 marked in our revolutionary struggle, when, as Washington said, you remember, "The spirit of freedom which at the commencement would have gladly sacrificed everything for the attainment of its object, has long subsided, and every selfish passion has taken its place." We approach the end of this war; it is half concluded. At the same period of our revolution, as every man knows, it took all the popularity of Washington and Morris, and Hamilton and Adams, to hold the people up to the terrible earnestness required by the revolutionary struggle. Compromise offered at this era, terms of settlement, proclaimed to such a people divided, one half of them anti-administration, ready from sympathy to stretch out the readiest hand to the rebels—the other, supporters of Mr. Lincoln, proud of success, magnanimous from strength, feeling that the game is in their own hands, willing to be merciful—are trebly perilous. At the head of such a people, part wearied, part corrupt, part over-confident, the President lays before the nation terms of reconstruction, and they mean infinitely more than his groping footsteps in 1861 and 1862. Men say again, "Why trouble yourselves about the message? Events are making everything sure." I know it; but what are events? You and I are one of them. The intellect, the purpose, the virtue of the millions, is one of the events which are urging the President and the Cabinet forward.

No, we stand here to-night, with the acknowledged head of the nation deliberately assuring the world that a certain programme will content the North. If he were a leader, I should go to him, and not to you; should offer argument to his mind. But the President does not act simply from his own unbiased convictions. He bows to yours. He seeks to do your will. With all his merits (and they are great), with all his services (and they are momentous), the President is not a leader—never professed to be a leader. The President is the agent of public opinion. He waits to know what you will allow and what you demand that he shall do. His anxiety is not South, over the battle-field; he believes in Northern cannon; his anxiety is North, in regard to your opinion, to know how much he may trust himself to ask.

Chattanooga was a brave sound at the White House, and gave its tenant sound sleep; but the election of Schuyler Colfax was ten times braver, and made him sleep ten times sounder (applause), for he knew that Grant could go to the Gulf when he chose (loud applause); but he did not know whether the Northern purpose, culminating in the election of the Speaker, meant to say amen to the most radical dream of the nation. And when he heard that vote of the House of Representatives, your attorney at the White House dared more than he ever dared before.

It is therefore here and to you, that I, as one of the people, undertake to enter my protest against the proclamation, and to ask of you to demand more of the government than that document covers (ominous silence). Say not that I am doing injustice to Mr. Lincoln. As my old professor at the law college used to say, "Gentlemen, I know my profession so well, that I need not blush when I say no to a question I cannot answer."

So Mr. Lincoln has done such service in this rebellion, has carved for himself a niche so high in the world's history, that he can well afford to have his faults told (applause).

There are two kinds of men in statesmanship. One is the servant of the people, and the other is the moulder of the people. To the first class belongs our President and his Cabinet; the other class is made up of different material.

Andrew Jackson was one when, in defiance of prophets and merchants, he flung down his gauntlet of democracy and waited till the nation endorsed him. Butler (applause) was another, when over Chesapeake bay he thundered the new word "contraband" (applause) and waited until the nation endorsed him. Fremont was another (great applause), when in the Summer of 1861 he gave the nation its watchword, and breathed into Missouri the breath of a righteous existence. And my opinion is—every man has a right to his opinion—my opinion is, that if that class of men had presided over the destinies of the nation in the Summer of 1861, we could have finished this war in two years, with all the advantages that we shall get out of a war of five years (cheers). But Providence placed us as we are, and all it demands of us is vigilance. The tenure of Democratic liberty is to be worthy of it. Men say, the third time, "Why criticize the proclamation! Slavery is dead, and no man can revive it." I have heard that two or three times; it has been the song of the nation two or three times.

In 1787, when the Constitution was framed, the South said, and the North believed, that slavery had received its death-blow—Gen. Heath, of my State, said, "Slavery has got its death-wound." Southern men affirmed the same. It was supposed that it could not breathe in the pure mountain air of revolutionary liberty; the lightning of the sons of liberty had struck it dead. But at that moment the devil hovered over Charleston with a handful of cotton seeds. Dropped in the fruitful soil of the islands, there came up a fibre which has bound New England and New York to the car of the Carolinas, and enslaved the North for seventy years.

In 1821, at the Missouri Compromise, John Randolph, of Virginia, said, "slavery is dead; the time is near, you will see it, when the slave-master will run from his slave as a burden, instead of the slave running from his master as a tyrant"; but slavery leapt over the Mississippi and culminated in this rebellion. No, Dryden tells us, "idiots only may be cozened twice." I have heard about slavery being dead. I never will believe it till I see it buried where plummet never sounded (applause). No, my guide is the example of the Anti Corn Law League in a similar emergency. On the 19th day of December, 1845, Sir Robert Peel, who had left office because he could not bring his comrades to a repeal of the bread tax, reassumed the office of First Lord of the Treasury at the bidding of the Queen, pledged to take off that tax. On the 23d of the same month, Cobden, Bright and Wilson and their fellows met in council. The London *Times* said to them, as the world says to us, "Gentlemen, your work is done; give up all your professional vituperation, and go home." What was the reply of the wary Englishmen? They said, in 1843, with the government against us, we raised fifty thousand pounds to agitate this question; in 1844, with the government still against us, we raised and spent one hundred thousand pounds to agitate this question; and now, in 1845, with the government pledged to our purpose, we will raise two hundred and fifty thousand pounds to make it sure (applause). So, with the President pledged to my purpose, with the government inevitably on my side, I will neither rest nor be silent until I see the Stars and Stripes mean inevitably, total, unconditional, immediate freedom (great applause). You may say this is hard work (laughter). Yes, gentlemen, to be a democrat is very hard work. Fisher Ames said, aristocracy is a noble frigate, tight and taut, thoroughly fitted, strongly armed. You may sit in the cabin warm and dry, and only the storm that makes ocean kiss the heavens can sink her. But that can. Democracy is a raft; your feet always wet, but you cannot sink. Eternal vigilance; nobody to be trusted; that is to be a democrat. The President's well-known advice—"Stand still and see the salvation of the Lord"—has been well commented on by Dr. Arnold of Rugby, thirty years ago. "It would have been good advice to the Israelites on the shores of the Red Sea—awaiting a miracle. It would have been false when they were to conquer Canaan with their own right hands." It is in that temper that I approach the President's Proclamation. Under what circumstances does he make it? In the first place, look across the water. Look at England. I recognize more gladly, more entirely than any man can, the magic and inestimable influence of the words of Henry Ward Beecher on the other side of the water (applause). I know that when he melted the hearts of millions, he welded them to our side (applause). But the whole English problem admits of a very brief statement.

When the war broke out, England as a unit hated us. There is no other single word that will express her feelings. Closely allied, kindred by close blood relationship, we trod on her heels. We over passed her on some points. She could not bear the rivalry nor the conquest. She felt it as close relatives always feel the success of their kindred. You will always find it safe to abuse a man to his cousin (laughter). England, our cousin, hated us; and when the London *Times* looked across the water and said the bubble had burst, she added in a whisper—thank God! (Laughter). But she looked a little longer, and out of that bursted bubble came seven hundred thousand armed men on the banks of the Potomac (applause)—and the heart that hated began to fear us. She said, this broken fragment of a people starts up a great military power. Beecher is eloquent; but Vicksburg and Chattanooga, and Parrott guns, sending two-hundred pound balls seven miles, are more terribly eloquent than he (applause). Then, France—the Emperor of France is a long-headed man; he does not send ten thousand men by driblets—anxiously keeping alive the spark of Mexican invasion—for nothing. He has a keen sight and a determined purpose ahead. He plans, during the difficulties of this nation, a serious effort to arrest the march of self-government, and the astutest head on a throne is our determined enemy. Now, I would not answer France solely with bugle-note and rifle-shot on the banks of the Rio del Norte. Oh, no! This continent is consecrated by the ages to the full and free experiment of self-government. That is our claim—our just claim. Europe is trying the experiment of thrones. Let her. She has a right to try it without our interference. But if France plants the germ of aristocracy and thrones in the soil of the American continent, my answer to her is, this reconstructed Union, holding out its right hand, with fifty million of dollars for Garibaldi, saying, take possession of Rome; and one hundred million for the republicans of Paris, saying, make Napoleon sit uneasy; and one hundred million for Germany, saying, make kings tremble. I would meet Napoleon with his own weapons—retaliation as well as resistance. If Europe leaves America to republicanism, well. If she interferes, we interfere (applause)—and the right hand of our resistance is clasped in brotherhood with the radicals of Europe to upset every throne on the continent (applause). That is my foreign policy, and one far more within our control than that of Europe. On the sea we are equals. She must send men here to carry out her plans on land; but all her navies could not bring enough to endanger us. While in a box one foot square, we can send all European radicals need, *money*.

Now look South. I said, Lincoln does not fear the South. He need not. What Grant has not done, he will do (applause). But look for nothing from him just yet. Every ounce of food his men have eaten was brought to them fifteen miles over the hills by horses, and that arm of the service needs rest as well as the others. He may not be heard of for sixty or ninety days; but be sure of this, he will not sit down and dig (long-continued applause). When he does move, it will be to see the South retreat to the Gulf States—Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi. With their railroads worn out, and all their transportation exhausted, they have no means of bringing food to their army, and the army must go to the food. But when they have reached it, when five or six millions of men make up their minds that the forlorn spot is reached, then be sure the war is not ended yet.

The South are a brave people. Four years ago I said to you under this roof, the South is no coward, and you laughed at me. You know now that, sincerely deluded, the South does believe a lie, and is willing to fight for it. The last forlorn refuge of such a people is a bloody fight. When in the eighth century the Musselmen poured over the Alps four hundied thousand strong, and Charles Martel, king of France, could muster but fifty thousand men to meet them, he said—"Gentlemen, there is no France but what your feet cover." Nerved by such despair, they hurled the crescent back into the Mediterranean, and saved Europe to Christianity. The South fights with such a motive and such a faith.

No, the war is not ended. It does not touch its end, and yet its end is certain; and what that end is to be we may read in the light of our own power and our own perseverance. The Union is to be reconstructed with a cement that laughs all interference to scorn (applause). Daniel Webster said the cement of the Union was the Fugitive Slave Act. Sin never cemented anything.

The cement of this Union is to be the mutual respect of the sections, bred of that blood which has mingled on bravely-contested fields. The South thought of the Yankee as one who knew only how to cheat. She met him at Chattanooga, and changed her mind. The North thought of the South as only gasconade and empty vaunt. We have battled with her for four years, and learned to respect her sincerity if not her intelligence, and out of that mutual respect is to grow a Union as indestructible and indivisible as the granite that holds up the continent. *There* is not the fear. As I said before—as Mr. Lincoln shows it—it is here at the North—the question of how much we will do and how far we will go.

Now, all civil wars are ended by compromise. There never was a civil war in which one party got a clean victory, to my knowledge. In war between two nations it has sometimes, though rarely, been the case; but in a nation divided on its own soil, there never was a strife which was not ended by compromise. Ours will be. The only question is, what shall we compromise on? Once launched on the stormy and turbid waters of politics, you cannot tell; but with the helm in our hands, you and I, if faithful, can now say to the nation, you may compromise when and where you please, with one exception, and that is, the tap-root of slavery shall be cut (applause). Let thirty Southern Representatives enter Congress under this proclamation, and what will be their first demand? It will be, "Gentlemen, fund our debt." Your Representatives will go to the united body and want a tariff to pay Mr. Chase's interest. The reply of the Democratic Southern majority, or minority, will be, "Granted; we are ready to provide for it when you please, provided that you tack on it, by way of rider, a tariff which will pay our interest too, and only on that condition shall you have a policy which is not tantamount to repudiation." You say this is not possible. Let me see. The builders of pirate ships in England have some one hundred million of this script, probably. Suppose they come to the doors of your reconstructed Congress and say, "Gentlemen, this paper is not worth five cents on the dollar; but we will give you twenty million of it if by your vote you will make your twenty and our other eighty million worth par." Did you ever know a Congress which could not be bought with twenty million of dollars? Do you ever hope to see one? (Laughter.) Consider the materials of which Congress is made; often of men who, by every base and equivocal act, have wriggled their way to place. Perhaps this office is the last gift they can expect of their party. Henceforth they sink back to the common level. Reputation, in a political point of view, is nothing to them thereafter. To twenty such the tempter comes—and twenty gained are enough to decide any question. Your Alexander Hamilton, and the holders of our colonial debt, so small that you would laugh at the amount, if I should mention it, went to Congress, and the question was, will or will you not give up the government, or save the government, by funding that debt at its original face? that same scene, with another Alexander Hamilton, is to take place in the first reconstructed Congress. The same fraud was perpetrated at the time of the Texas annexation, and carried that measure. Now, therefore, the first item of compromise will be three or four thousand million of debt. I do not object to that particularly, myself. It is the atonement which God demands of this nation for seventy years of sin. No sin is washed out with words. You cannot cheat the devil of his due. Our fathers sinned against that victim race, and God mortgages the right hand of every living man, and of every child that is to be born for the next half century, to atone for the nation's iniquity. That is one compromise. There will be others. Now, it is in such a time, and with such a future, that Mr. Lincoln enters the field with his project for reconstruction. What is the first element of it, broadly considered? It is this: He lays his own proclamation and the acts of Congress at the foot of the Supreme Court. He says the South is to swear to support the various acts of the government in his hands and in the hands of Congress, so far as the Supreme Court holds them to be valid. Now, I am not asserting that he could say anything else, speaking merely of military proclamations and acts of Congress. I am only telling you what he does say, in order to lead you to demand of him something not subject to such danger. To show my purpose, let me ask you what does that proclamation mean—the proclamation of the 1st of January, 1863.

Some of the members of the Cabinet say it means that any negro who can get hold of it is free. Mr. Chase says that, in consequence of it, any negro down to the Gulf is free (applause). Republicans in my State say that there is no law in it; that it is not worth the waste paper on which it is written. Leading Republicans say so. What does Mr. Lincoln say? He says, as he ought to say, nothing. He cannot say anything. When your Governor has signed an act, he cannot tell you its meaning any better than you can, or I. He must ask the Supreme Court to construe it—and the meaning of that proclamation nobody knows until the Supreme Court has settled it. Nobody knows the meaning and force of any of the laws or proclamations on which we are relying to stop this war and prevent another, until Roger B. Taney and his fellows settle it for us. In other words, the proclamation of the 1st of January, 1863, is to be filtered through the secession heart of a man whose body is in Baltimore, but whose soul, if he has one, is in Richmond (applause). It has to pass the ordeal of a bench of Judges who made the Dred Scott decision, and announced that the negro has no rights which a white man is bound to respect. It has to pass the ordeal of a set of Judges the majority of whom are Southerners and the servants of Southerners, and who reached their places by pandering to the Slave Power. Of the two who refused the Dred Scott decision, one is in his grave and the other has resigned. Now, God help the negro if he hangs on Roger B. Taney for his liberty! I am not here to speak of the portentous power of the Supreme Court. You know what it is, the Gibraltar of our system, the point where our democratic machine touches nearest to despotism. Adopting the English plan of bowing to precedents, it is a system in which the opinions of the present day are checkmated by the prejudices of men who were appointed fifty years ago, and who are obliged to respect the prejudices of men who have been in their graves a hundred years. The hot-new purpose of to-day, just born of long, bitter experience, and tried in fierce battle, is to be tested and measured by the fossil prejudice and iron precedents of a century back. Put new wine into new bottles. Don't try to bind earthquakes with parchment bands. In ordinary times, I might have something to say about the rules of action in our Supreme Court, considering its place as a *political* power in our system; I might object to the iron rigor of this English doctrine of precedents. But this is no hour to criticize our institutions. Leave that for times of peace. We must take things as they are, and arrange our remedies to match the case. Leave the Supreme Court all the power it claims. But call into exercise the reserved sovereignty of the nation, and provide a safeguard which is, constitutionally, beyond the reach of that Court, as far as anything can be in our system. To such a tribunal President Lincoln proposes to submit the final settlement of the war. We are to furl banners and adjourn the fight, not knowing which party has beaten, or how much we have gained, until that Court decides on our measures. I asked one of the shrewdest members of the House of Representatives what he would give for the proclamation before the Supreme Court. "Little or nothing," he said. Within five weeks, a prominent New England Senator said to me, "The greatest danger to the proclamation is from the Supreme Court." On the President's plan we may see the insidious and gradual chicanery of cunning Judges filch from us all we have so dearly earned. And against such a danger, even while this message is writing, the highest members of the government are understood to dare to say only, "I hope," "I expect," "Perhaps," the Supreme Court will endorse the January proclamation. Now mark you! as Commander-in-Chief, and the author of these two instruments, I am not finding fault with Mr. Lincoln. It is just like this: Suppose you are the tenant of a house; the chimney smokes, your lease is out in thirty days; you do not trouble yourself with the chimney, but you throw up a window to make a draft. Very well, but yet the landlord remodels the chimney. Mr. Lincoln is a tenant at will, who goes out shortly. His proclamation is throwing up the window to create a draft; but, as the President, joined to you and Congress—THE NATION, I want him to remodel that chimney (applause). As Commander-in-Chief, he has *freed slaves*. I ask of the *Nation* to *abolish slavery*. As Commander-in-Chief, he has done an act which the Supreme Court may reverse, and may set aside in part or wholly. Of the nation I claim an amendment of the Constitution which that Court is sworn to obey, and in such plain terms as they cannot misconstrue.

That is, I want a platform which the Supreme Court cannot touch (applause). As a *quid pro quo* for this war, I want something of which I know the value to-day without consulting Judge Taney, and Judge Clifford, and Judge Catron, secessionists from the tops of their heads to the soles of their feet (hisses and applause). If you do not think so, go and examine them, that is all (renewed hisses and applause). If they have reformed and repented, and got any better, I shall be glad to know it, if any man has recent information ("Good!"); but I judge them by their record; I judge them by their decisions. They may be trusted in belligerency questions and such like; not in any case into which the *negro* enters. The New York *Times* asks me to-day whether I would not trust the negro where all the white men have been trusted for the last twenty years. If I had had no protection but the bench of the Supreme Court, I should have been in jail seven years ago; and as for the negro, that Court has announced that he has no rights which white men are bound to respect. Before I trust the negro with them, I want to give him at least the same protection from their prejudices and caprices that I have, namely, THE CONSTITUTION.

Now, what I should ask of Mr. Lincoln in this behalf is, an amendment of the Constitution, which his advice to Congress would secure in sixty days. Submit to the States an amendment of the Constitution which shall say, "Hereafter, there shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in any State of this Union" (cheers). Mr. Seward says that these Mississippi Senators' chairs stand empty, and he wants them filled. So do I; but he is for having them filled as they are. I am for making them so hot that a slaveholder cannot sit in them (laughter and applause). I want the States back, and I want them back speedily, and I want them back in their full strength, that we may say to France, "Go home, and take care of your tottering throne!" (Applause.) But before I receive these States, I will provide, either by parchment guarantees here, or by natural laws there, that there shall be real peace and democracy forever, when peace is once proclaimed (applause).

Some men have one theory and some have another. Mr. Sumner has a theory that the Southern States are all dead—there is nothing but territories. Mr. Dale Owen has a theory that the States are not dead, only dormant, as the lawyers say, "in abeyance"—gone to sleep, in common terms. Seward has a theory that they are not gone to sleep at all—they are as alive as ever, only kicking on the wrong side (laughter and applause).

If you will read the second volume of "Macaulay," the last fifty pages, you will find that he describes the English nation in the same circumstances—a precedent to which I have referred two or three times since the outbreak of this rebellion. James the Second had fled to Paris. The high tories said, "The King lives forever, and all we have to do is to make an image of James the Second, and obey it." The moderate tories said, "No, the throne is in abeyance while he is away." The Algernon Sidney whigs said, "No, he has forfeited the throne"; and the other whigs said, "No, he has vacated the throne"; the people said, "We know nothing about it; we only know the throne is empty, and we mean to fill it." They did so, and have had no trouble since. Now, I do not know whether there are territories over there, or States dormant, or States in a vicious activity—all I know is, the house is vacant, and I mean to clean it before they get back.

I mean to make this platform such that they may come safely back, and soon back, and back in their own natural forms. I do not accede to Mr. Sumner's theory unless I am obliged to. I will take an ounce of bread if I cannot get any more. I will take Mr. Lincoln's proclamation if I cannot get any more; but I think that three years of costly and bloody war entitle and enable us to get a great deal more, and I do not mean to give up until I am convinced to the contrary.

But Mr. Sumner's Territories theory has one exceedingly bad feature.

The strongest chord in the American heart, next to the love of Union, is State pride. If you were to tell me that you could make me a Massachusetts over again on my own soil as good as the old one, I should not want it. I want the old Massachusetts of Endicott and Winthrop, and Bradford and the Pilgrims—the actual old State, the line that binds me to the cabin of the Mayflower. So does Andy Johnson in Tennessee; so do the speechless Unionists in Mississippi. And I would save the State alive for them by an action that would enable them to bring it back in their own method and their own time. Meantime, all that devolves upon me, is so to shape the Constitution that when they come back, they cannot come back except free States.

You may say, we have no power so to amend the Constitution. Yes, our constitutional life is a limited one, except one line; but there is one line of the Constitution which gives us a sovereignty as unlimited as Victoria, or the throne of France. By that line which says, "The people may amend the Constitution," you could make Lincoln hereditarily President; if you chose, give it to his son. You could make the Senate hereditary; you could give women the ballot; you could take it from men under fifty; you can do anything. The common law says, if a man is attacked, he retires to the wall and uses any weapon he can reach to defend his life. International law says to that unit which it creates—a nation—"If you are attacked, go to the wall; when you get there, you are at liberty to use any means to preserve your life. Abolish dynasties, systems, property, statute books to any extent." In 1776 our fathers did not abolish George the Third, they abolished kings, saying that kingcraft was fatal to the colonies. In 1688, to which I have referred, the English did not abolish thrones, but they said, "The divine right of kings has proved fatal to England. We cut off Charles the First's head, hoping his son would behave better; but he behaves worse. Now we will elect our king, and hold him on that tenure, and see if he will behave better." He has. So of France. The warrant for such abolition is to be found in the greatly imperilled state of the republic, and in the legitimate functions of the government to be exercised in such an alarming crisis. By common law, an individual has the right of self-defence by all means recognized by that law. In view of international law, a nation is an individual, and has the right of self-defence by all means recognized by that law; one of those means being the destruction of any dynasty or institution which imperils national life. Slavery has struck at the life of the nation, and declared its own existence incompatible with that of the nation. Hence, the nation, acting through its official organs, has a right to abolish slavery throughout its dominions; and past events demonstrate alike the necessity and duty of exercising this right without delay and without compromise, and beyond recall.

Mr. Lincoln said, in the beginning of the war, "I would try to save this Union without hurting slavery." He showed he knew nothing about the crisis.

There are men who go into the Senate house to-day, and talk to you about the Supreme Court, as Webster did in 1850, and as Webster would not do to-day if he were alive—bound in parchments and technicalities. Unlike Chatham, they come with law books doubled down in dog's ears to advocate liberty by precedent. Like an old Massachusetts parson, who always refused to baptize a baby who was born on Sunday (laughter). Now, what you want to-day is a statesmanship which says, "This is the hour of revolutionary convulsions, when the nation, resuming her sovereignty, undertakes to set up barriers equal to the occasion." The lion's bloody jaws give evidence that we have the right to shoot him to-day. But there are men among us who advise you to wait till he tears out his own claws and pulls out his own teeth in 1900. That body of States represented in Washington lays taxes, raises armies, makes treaties, and does every act pertaining to the sovereignty of the nation. As well may it amend the Constitution.

The lesson of to-day is: the Constitution to be thrown up as a barrier. And that brings me to the second point of the proclamation of Mr. Lincoln. The natural law, which would have saved us, even without an amendment of the Constitution, the President sets aside. He sets aside the Confiscation Act. He says all slaveholders, excepting about seven hundred, may return to their estates, and the State may then come back on the vote of one-tenth of its old voters into the Union. What does that mean? Every man knows that land dictates government. If you hold land, every man his own farm, it is a democracy; you need not curiously ask of the statute book. If a few men own the territory, it is an oligarchy; you need not carefully scan its laws. Thirty thousand families own England; it is an oligarchy. Every Massachusetts farmer owns his house, and Jefferson Davis, multiplied by millions, could not make it anything but a democracy. Daniel Webster said, in 1820, the revolution in France has crumbled up the nobles' estates into small farms; the throne must either kill them or they will kill out the throne. Every man knows that.

Land being worth little or nothing without slaves, the land in our Southern States is owned almost exclusively by slaveholders; and, from the nature of their cultivation, in much larger lots than at the North. Now, while these large estates remain in the hands of the just defeated Slave Oligarchy, its power is not destroyed. But let me confiscate the land of the South, and put it into the hands of the negroes and white men who have fought for it, and you may go to sleep with your parchments. I have planted Union sure to grow as an acorn to become an oak. You do not build governments like a clap-board house; you plant them like an oak. Plant two hundred thousand negro farmers and by their side two hundred thousand white soldiers, and I will risk the South, Davis and all (applause). When William the Norman conquered England, in order to guarantee his conquest, he divided the land among his nobles, and, practically, they hold it to-day. "I have conquered the South," Civilization may say, "and I'll divide its territories among my nobles—the blacks and the whites who have won it" (applause). And then we are safe. Instead of that, Andy Johnson, one of the ablest men in the nation, stands to-day in Nashville—in sight of him is a man—one of five, a committee to whom Jeff. Davis gave five million of dollars (such as they are), with orders to take that State out of the Union; and he did his best and failed. Now he lives there on his own plantation, with as many of his slaves as he can keep, protected by Rosecrans, a contractor with the War Department to furnish timber for our railroads, out of which he will make sixty thousand dollars this year. How soon will you bring back Tennessee at that rate? On the contrary, let Gov. Johnson send that man where you please, take his land and plant upon it fifty men who know that their title deed is the Union, and that policy carried out will bring back Tennessee peaceably, into this nation in twelve months. And you will never bring it otherwise. Every Union man at the South says, "Give to the hated, hunted, all but hanged Unionists of the State the power in this State, and we can safely come back. Keep it from us, divide it between us and others, and we must either be exiles or be hung." That is the practical common sense of the Unionists of Tennessee and Louisiana. The Johnsons, the Fowlers, the Bowens, will give us a free Tennessee, the moment you allow them to have power free from the interference of the Hardings, Coquerels and Cheathams. And such confiscation is no hard measure for those men who, to perpetuate slavery, have brought this bloody and terrible war on the nation. From two sources I know of plans of immediate emancipation in that State discussed, once by twenty slaveholders, and once by rather more, and in each case more than seventeen of the group declared emphatically for immediate emancipation without compensation. No doubt these cases are the exception, not the rule; but this fact shows that the war has created in those States material fit for rebuilding them—educated men, who, properly aided, can and will bring them back safely to us, free States. Mr. Lincoln's proclamation sets that aside, and gives to the old slaveholders, under the new guise of landowners, the power in the State. I need not theorize on this subject, the whole plan has been tried.

This experiment has been tried and found, in the President's phrase, "an auger that won't bore." In 1834, the British government emancipated the slaves of Jamaica. They left them as apprentices in the hands of their old masters, then the landowners to make for them all temporary arrangements, as Mr. Lincoln does now. "Temporary!" How long does that mean—fifty years? [A foot in old times meant the length of a king's foot.] A temporary arrangement. That is the way the British left the slaves of Jamaica. What was the consequence in two years?—[the apprenticeship was to last six]. In two years they had behaved like such tyrants that Sir Edward Sugden, a leader of the London bar, not an Abolitionist, allowed that a complete case was made out against Jamaica, and the Imperial Parliament interfered and broke what was called the "contract," and set the slaves free; and when it was done, Lord Brougham said, in the House of Lords, "we need to keep a vigilant eye on these colonies. He trusted that the Island Legislature would not by a vagrant act, poor law bill, police regulations or any other devices, attempt to perpetuate slavery under another name, or to revive under false pretences that slavery which under an odious name the law would not suffer to exist." In 1839, one year later, that Jamaica Legislature, as if in express defiance of Lord Brougham, had passed a vagrant act, a prison act, and petty debt act of which I will tell you the contents. This is to show you how they treated the blacks committed to their care, for "temporary arrangements," as Mr. Lincoln proposes to commit our blacks. Previously to the emancipation, if a black man had planted a little patch, and a horse trespassed upon it, he could drive it to the pound, and get one or two shillings or a crown damage. The new Legislature amended that act thus: He shall still have the right, provided that when he gives the horse into the keeping of the pound-keeper, he deposits some statement in writing what harm it has done. Hardly a negro on the island could write. The second set of acts was of this kind; they said to the negro, "there is your shanty on my land; I will charge you ten pounds a year; there is that cocoanut tree your father planted, but I will charge you two shillings a month for that; pay me that rent, agree to work for me for ninepence a day for a year, with many other conditions, all in writing which the negro couldn't read, and if you fail in one point, you forfeit all your wages, and may be imprisoned sixty days to hard labor." The negro refused and ran. Two justices assemble and find him in the road without a home. If he owns no land, they label him as a vagrant, and the next justice takes him in hand and sentences him to six months' imprisonment to hard labor for not owning a house, unless he'll work for what they please to call "usual" wages. When Melbourne heard of this, Parliament undertook to supersede the whole legislature of Jamaica, and brought in an act for that purpose, which, but for the interference of Sir Robert Peel, would have passed; he gave them what he called *locus pœnitentiæ*, that is, a place for repentance; but they did not repent, for when I was in England, in 1841, I heard William Knibb say, with the applauding sanction of Buxton, Lushington, and O'Connell:

"Under the Petty Debt Act he is cast into jail for this rent—ejected from his cottage; then, under the Police Act, he is arrested on the *highway* as without a home; then, under the Vagrant Act, sent to hard labor on the penal gang for sixty days. Of course, he avoids this by submitting to be white man's terms. . . This is a perfect contravention of the intent and purpose of the Imperial Act of Emancipation. *In plain English*, IT IS SLAVERY."

I heard Lushington say:

"The laws of Jamaica are again entangling those who have escaped from the trammels of slavery, curtailing the free course of their industry, and subjecting them to all the insults of oppression."

"I feel that it is one of the first duties of Her Majesty's government to set aside one and all of those laws which have been framed, not as every law should be, for the administration of impartial justice, for the protection of peace or the preservation of the great bonds of human society, but to arm the employer with the means of exacting from the laborer his labor without just reward, and strengthen the strength of the strong and weaken the weakness of the weak."

I heard O'Connell say:

"Ordinances are vain as the idle wind so long as you permit them to be administered by the master. . . Look at those laws which the Legislature of Jamacia has passed. The blacks are free in point of law, yet you have a *slave code* actually enacted under that unworthy successor of Sir Lionel Smith. I like to call things by their right names. I say Sir Charles Metcalf is mischievous in his situation."

He called those laws a "swindle," and demanded the immediate interference of the Home government. And such is the testimony of all the writers on the West Indies since 1834—even of those like Hovey and Sewell, who are not Abolitionists—that all the trouble attending emancipation, and all the temporary loss to the colonies, came from the attempt of the planters to recreate by tricky legislation that slavery which England had abolished.

Now, that was seven years after England had given her blacks, technically free, into the keeping of slaveholders turned into landowners, which is just what Lincoln proposes to do. And remember, the power of England over Jamaica was absolute. The mother country had a veto on their laws, and could annihilate the whole Jamaica government, if she pleased. But once let the States come back, and the Union cannot interfere in any of the local laws of such States. In such points, the power of the Union is just enough to render it obnoxious, without entitling it to either respect or obedience. We should stand and see the freedman, whose arm helped us to victory, robbed in our very sight of all its reality. Mr. Lincoln is a very prudent man, people say. Well, prudence is a very worthy virtue, except when exercised at other people's expense [laughter]. What I say is, the man who proposes to give up the fruits of this war for such a miserable sham as that, either does not understand his epoch, or is not equal to it. We have laid 250,000 of the noblest lives of

and Senators will checkmate us in Congress. Indeed the only real effect of the plan is to give the negro back into his master's legislative control, and to furnish Jefferson Davis with sixty or ninety representatives in Congress. A Union so reconstructed would be a machine sure not to work. Such peace would be war in disguise. With it, how shall we defend ourselves, or sustain our pecuniary credit?

I know I criticize Mr. Lincoln freely. I accord him all his laurels; but the war is a terrible expense, it is a terrible trial. This nation ought never to have but one. I have no distrust while the war lasts. Cannon know no tricks. It is the politicans who know tricks. I want to keep the settlement among cannon and save it from Cabinets. And it is to be done by us. Next year, we shall launch into President-making. In that terrible storm of personal ambition, who knows the road which leads to safety? Let me say one word here, and then I will close. Mr. Lincoln has one rival in that future whose head just now is highest, and he belongs to the Treasury (applause). Mr. Chase has great merits, he has done great service to the country, and I would like to have him stay where he is (laughter)—if it were only in fairness to wait till the bank system prove a failure, if it were only to see fail that magnificent humbug of pouring the whole bank capital of the nation into a tub without a bottom. But if he must leave before his schemes are tested, I want the people to remind him that on two great occasions, the virtue of his anti-slavery life was tested and proved base metal, and demand that he give us some reason to hope that if it is tested a third time, it will prove better. There was an hour when Mr. Chase held the State of Ohio in his right hand. Bred a Democrat, with the States' right doctrine, he knew the power that the State had a right to exert against the Union. In the custody of an Ohio sheriff was the noblest woman, almost, that ever trod this continent, judged by her opportunity. Bred a slave, in darkness and rude toil, she had fled to Ohio, and when she saw the slave-hunter descending on her cradle, she gave her babe back to God to save it from bondage. The sublimity of a mother's love; the noblest historic moment that ever Ohio knew! Every man with a heart would have leaped to shield her, and envied any officer that sublime opportunity. She stood incarcerated by an Ohio sheriff, and Gov. Chase knew so well her rights, that—I had it from his own lips—he said to the Sheriff, "I will put, and I have the right to put, every soldier of the State in front of that door before the United States Marshal shall touch Margaret Garner"; and after saying it, he travelled one hundred and twenty miles, and left the Sheriff to take the responsibility — a responsibility the Governor dared not take, the Sheriff would not take, and she went back to bondage. No South Carolina Governor, with an Abolitionist in prison at Charleston, would have ever gone up to Columbia. Another time, when the States threw themselves at the feet of the President, and demanded the removal of that man, your New York statesman, whose life is a greater danger to this nation in its struggle than that of President Davis to-day—when fourteen States asked his removal, between the indignant States and the [I will not call him traitor, for that is libellous, but I may call him] false pilot, Mr. Secretary Chase flung himself as a barrier, and saved him. If he looms up for our President, sit up nights, give yourselves no rest, watch till you are sure no bondman lives beneath the banner. I never will rest until I see the men whose character this fiery war has brought to the surface, and who show, under that ordeal, sense and courage as their qualities—I never will rest until they either lead the nation or watch for it—in other words, until Butler or Fremont mans the guns [great applause]. Until such men man the guns, or hold the helm, no man with justice to himself, to his children, to the negro and to the Union, can give rest to his eyelids or silence to his lips.

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT COMPROMISE—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, JANUARY 9, 1864.

OUR PENNSYLVANIA FRIENDS are reminded that letters requiring attention at the Anti-Slavery Rooms in Philadelphia should no longer be addressed to Mr. McKim, the former Secretary, but to his successor, BENJAMIN C. BACON, 106 North Tenth street. Mr. McKim is now the Secretary of the Freedman's Relief Association in Philadelphia, and letters to him should be addressed to the office of that association, 424 Walnut st.

THE THIRTIETH
NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY SUBSCRIPTION ANNIVERSARY.

THE Managers of the THIRTIETH NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY SUBSCRIPTION ANNIVERSARY hereby announce to its numerous friends and patrons, and to the friends of liberty and emancipation universally, that it will be held, as hitherto, in MUSIC HALL, Boston, on Wednesday evening, January 27th, 1864; and they confidently anticipate not only the same thronged attendance and liberal patronage that have hitherto been extended to it, but a cheering increase of both, in view of the wonderful change which has been wrought in public opinion, on the subject of slavery, since the rebellion broke out, adverse to the longer continuance of that "sum of all villanies."

The special object of this Anniversary has been, from year to year, to replenish the treasury of the AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, and thus enable it to keep in operation those potent instrumentalities whereby the public conscience has been aroused, the public understanding enlightened, and the public heart softened, in regard to the pitiable condition of the millions of bondmen and bondwomen whose deliverance, though manifestly approaching, yet remains to be consummated. To that Society is the whole country most deeply indebted for its unfaltering, courageous and inflexible opposition to slavery as a system, and to the Slave Power as inimical to every element of Democracy and Christianity, through a long period of years; and it is now widely and magnanimously conceded that, if its solemn warnings, powerful appeals, and prophetic asseverations had been duly heeded, the present awful tragedy of rebellion and civil war might have been averted, and the abolition of slavery secured without violence or blood.

The American Anti-Slavery Society has recently celebrated, at Philadelphia, its THIRD DECADE, or thirtieth anniversary since its formation. The occasion was one of thrilling interest and stirring remembrance—calling, in the retrospect of the past, for devout thanksgiving to the God of the oppressed for what had been effected by the power of His truth, and inspiring to new labors to secure the liberation of every slave in the land. While the great concourse of "the tried and true," who were present, were made jubilant by all the signs of the times; and while they expressed the confident hope that the monster slavery had received its death-wound through its treasonable revolt aainst the General government; still, there was entire unanimity in the conviction that the Society should not think, for one moment, of retiring from the conflict until liberty is "proclaimed throughout all the land, unto all the inhabitants thereof."

Judge CONWAY, of Kansas, in a letter read on the occasion, regretting his absence, said—"I recognize in the American Anti-Slavery Society the primal agent in the regeneration of the American nation which is now in progress. The ultimate triumph of liberty is assured. Thank God, the future is ours! But this assurance should in no wise inspire us with indifference to the progress of events. We must not suppose that *our* part of the work is finished. *The American Anti-Slavery Society must not think of retiring from the field for many a long day yet.* The future is ours; but we must do the work necessary to perfect the results."

On the same occasion, the Hon. HENRY WILSON, of Massachusetts, in the course of an eloquent speech said—"By years, by epochs alone, can we measure the progressive advancement of a movement so grand and comprehensive as the anti-slavery movement in America. What mighty changes have been wrought in the condition of the anti-slavery cause in the United States since the American Anti-Slavery Society was organized by representatives of ten States in 1833! Then a few unknown and nameless men were its apostles; now the most accomplished intellects in America are its champions. Then a few proscribed and hunted followers rallied around its banners; now it has laid its grasp upon the conscience of the nation, and millions rally around the folds of its flag. Then not a statesman in America accepted its doctrines or advocated its measures; now it controls more than twenty States; has a majority in both houses of Congress, and the Chief Magistrate of the republic decrees the emancipation of three million men. Then every free State was against it; now Western Virginia, Delaware, Maryland and Missouri pronounce for the emancipation of their bondmen. Then the public press covered it with ridicule and contempt—now the most powerful journals in America are its organs, scattering its truths broadcast over all the land. Then the religious, benevolent and literary institutions of the land rebuked its doctrines and proscribed its advocates—now it shapes, moulds and fashions them at its pleasure. Then political organizations trampled disdainfully upon it—now it looks down in the pride of conscious power upon the wrecked political fragments that float at its feet. Then it was impotent and powerless—now it holds public men and political organizations in the hollow of its hand. Then the public voice sneered at and defied it—now it is master of America, and has only to be true to itself to bury slavery so deep that the hand of no returning despotism can reach it." In concluding his speech, Mr. Wilson admonishingly remarked—"I say to you, Mr. President, and to the anti-slavery men of the United States, who have rejected the subtle policy of concession and compromise, who have repudiated the guilty delusion that the sin of slavery belongs to past generations and repentance to posterity, you who have perpetually sounded into the ear of the nation the sin of oppression and the duty of repentance, go not home with the conviction that your work is done, but go home cheered by the assurance that the battle is going on for you; that you have stormed battery after battery, carried position after position; that you have only to be as true in the future as you have been in the past, to secure a permanent and enduring triumph. If the nation had accepted your doctrine of peaceful, legal, Christian action, this bloody war would never have come upon us. The crimes of two centuries have brought this terrible war upon us; but if this generation, upon whom God has laid His chastisements, will yet be true to liberty and humanity, peace will return again to bless this land now rent and torn by civil strife. Then we shall heal the wounds of war, enlighten the dark intellect of the emancipated bondman, and make our country the model Republic to which the Christian world shall turn with respect and admiration."

When such are the convictions and assurances of distinguished public men, not connected with the American Anti-Slavery Society, in regard to the value and magnitude of the work it has accomplished, and the further need and importance of the Society in perfecting what remains to be done, surely it is no time to think of disbanding, or of cherishing the pleasing illusion that the victory is won, and therefore we may safely trust to events to shape our national destiny.

Ever since the rebellion broke out, this Society has been thoroughly in earnest in sustaining the government, and all those measures of emancipation which President Lincoln and Congress have deemed it necessary to adopt to suppress the rebellion, and to give unity and stability to republican ideas, institutions and interests from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and from the Lakes to the Gulf.

The Managers of the SUBSCRIPTION ANNIVERSARY, therefore, feel that they may properly call upon all loyal men and women, as well as upon all who reject with indignation the wild and guilty phantasy that "man can hold property in man," in every part of the land, to contribute liberally to its funds on this occasion, and, as far as practicable, to be present at its commemoration at the time and place designated. Where personal attendance is impracticable or inconvenient, donations may be sent to either of the undersigned, or to WILLIAM I. BOWDITCH, Esq., 8 Railroad Exchange, Boston, Treasurer of the American Anti-Slavery Society. These will be gratefully received, duly acknowledged, and faithfully expended.

Mary May,	Ann Rebecca Bramhall,
Louisa Loring,	Sarah H. Southwick,
Henrietta Sargent,	Caroline E. Putnam,
Ann Greene Phillips,	Mary Willey,
Sarah Shaw Russell,	Abby H. Stephenson,
Lydia D. Parker,	Sarah J. Nowell,
Sarah Russell May,	Elizabeth von Arnim,
Helen E. Garrison,	Eliza Apthorp,
Anna Shaw Greene,	Sarah Cowing,
Sarah Blake Shaw,	Abby Kelley Foster,
Caroline C. Thayer,	Mary E. Stearns,
Mattie Griffith,	Mary Elizabeth Sargent,
Mary Jackson,	Sarah C. Atkinson,
Evelina A. Smith,	Abby Francis,
Caroline M. Severance,	Georgiana Otis,
Elizabeth Gay,	Katherine Earle Farnum.

PAST, PRESENT, AND FUTURE.

THERE is just now a brief lull in our affairs, military and civil. The armies are stayed in their doings by the weather, and the Congress by the season. Mud holds the one fast, and the Christmas holidays have dispersed the other. It is therefore not a bad time to look back and see where we have been, to look around and see where we are, and to look forward and see where we are likely to find ourselves by and by. Three years ago, State was following State in the footsteps of South Carolina. A dotard in the White House, traitors in the Cabinet and both Houses, and mutineers swarming in the military and naval services. The nation disarmed, impoverished and without credit. Conspirators plotting the assassination of the incoming President and the seizure of the Capital. All Europe apparently in sympathy with the traitors, and without faith in the character or resources of the North. And, which was worse, there was no mutual confidence or unity of purpose at the North, and little faith in the possibility of slaying the rebellion, unless by the most infamous submissions. Then came Sumter, and the Uprising of the Great People, and the magical multiplication of arms and munitions and credit at the sound of that voice "as of many waters." Two years ago the finest army ever seen on this continent, and finer than which was never seen on any other, was encamped around Washington, getting ready to crush the rebellion in its nest at Richmond. But its commander had other plans, and suffered one favorable moment to escape him ridiculously, and so used another as to wind up his strategy by an ignominious defeat, rather than harm his enemy and endanger slavery. And last year brought the proclamation of Emancipation, an act which, with all the preparation of national necessities which had gone before it, was nothing less than incredible, even where it was actually an accomplished fact. Men could barely believe their senses, even they (and they perhaps the most) who had been waiting and watching and working for the coming of that day, when the Head of the Nation, as Commander-in-Chief, declared slavery abolished in the rebel States as a military necessity.

It is this great fact which has leavened and qualified all the history of the past year. Whether the Supreme Court, to which the President accords the power of passing upon it, declare it legal or not, its moral force has been immense, incalculable, and will go far to neutralize, if not to prevent, the action of the pro-slavery malice in which the lore of those sages of the law has been so long steeped. Unless speed be used and a swift case made up, slavery may be dead beyond resuscitation before the Dred Scott judges can come to its rescue. Their decree, should it be fulminated against the sentence of death pronounced by the President, may come too late, like a reprieve after execution has been done. The force and virtue of the proclamation does not lie so much in its strict legality, as to which there may be doubts, though we entertain none, as in the test which it has been of the temper and spirit of the mind of the people of the North. It was an experiment to show what progress the war had made in the education of the people as to its real cause and purposes, and as to the conditions which alone could make a peace possible, prosperous, and permanent. And, as such, it has been singularly successful. It must be remembered that the proclamation was issued on the heel of hostile elections, which were construed by the enemies of the government, everywhere, as condemnatory of the attempt to put down the rebellion, and especially, of all interference with the rights of slaveholders. It was used in the most unfair and unscrupulous manner to mislead and exasperate the more ignorant classes, and with more or less effect in many places. But the general voice of the whole loyal Nation has pronounced unmistakably in favor of the President's policy, generally, and particularly as to the proclamation. The elections of last Autumn were in effect direct endorsements of that instrument and pledged the support of those casting their votes to its policy. It is this circumstance which most of all gives hope and comfort to all waiting and laboring for the deliverance of the bondmen. And this Anti-Slavery feeling has been growing stronger and stronger from day to day, and from battle-field to battle-field, permeating the army as well as leavening civil society, and swelling upwards and onwards into an irresistible power. Even the Supreme Court, should they be faithful to the charge for which they were appointed by Jackson and Tyler and Polk and Pierce, can hardly stay the revolution with their ineffectual fingers. Their rescript would be treated with the forms of respect and obedience, but the American people always have found a way to make their will and pleasure lawful and constitutional, and they will not miss it this time, we may be sure.

But in order to this, the public mind must be intelligently and fully made up on the subject. And, we rejoice to say, we think that the present appearance of the situation is favorable to growth and strength in this direction. The public mind is not yet fully grown up from the gristle of expediency to the bone of principle. It may yet be swayed in a wrong direction by false winds of doctrine, and lured astray by false lights of expediency. It must have still, as it has had all along, substantial successes varied by incidental delays and repulses. Events must show more and more distinctly that slavery and the rebellion are one and the same entity, and that the one cannot be suppressed leaving the other alive. This point of national education is going bravely on in the field. Pro-slavery generals have been converted to Anti-Slavery doctrine by the stern teachings of battle. Soldiers, born and bred in contempt and hatred towards the negro, are glad to welcome him as a comrade and companion in arms. His services to the country, which he is ordained to save, if it can be saved by arms, will raise him from his humiliation to his just place in the social system. And these things are acting and reacting on the public opinion of the public at home. The greatest danger under which we lie, as we conceive it, is an over-confidence in the actual abolition of slavery before it is abolished, in its absolute death, while it is still full of deadly vitality. The President and Congress can, or, at least, will, do nothing that is not what they believe to be the reflection of the opinion of their constituents. Let this opinion demand an act abolishing slavery throughout the country, with compensation to all but grossly disloyal masters, so that the reproach shall be taken away from us of protecting slavery where we can reach it and destroying it where we cannot, so that when the end of the war comes that element of obstruction to a proper peace shall be removed out of the way. Let an amendment of the Constitution make Freedom a part of the organic law of the land, if such an one can be carried through Congress. If this cannot be done, for lack of a two-thirds vote, a majority can declare that no rebel State shall be pardoned and restored to its political rights, now forfeited, excepting by presenting itself with a Constitution forbidding slavery. Some, or all, of these measures may be taken, and by this Congress, and we rejoice to believe that there is reason to hope that it will not neglect this duty to their constituents, to their country, and to posterity.

The situation, then, at home, in Congress and in the field, is hopeful and promising of yet better things to come. The attitude of foreign nations confesses this, and the voice of those of their inhabitants most intelligent of our affairs acknowledges it. Of this we shall next week present to our readers an admirable evidence in the letter of M. M. Gasparin, Cochin, Laboulaye and Martin, in reply to the invitation of the Union League. These gentlemen show an accurate knowledge of the condition of things in this country not to be surpassed by any native observer, and they draw from it omens of the certain victory of the right most cheering and strengthening. And this intelligent knowledge of our affairs in France is had in England by such men as Mill and Cairnes and Hall and Hughes, not to mention Bright and Cobden. And from such minds the truth is extending to many others, is already felt in the policy of the government, and will be felt yet more, if we are but true to ourselves. The present and the past, dearly and bitterly as their experience has been earned, are all, and more, in possession and in promise, that we could have hoped for as so soon to be brought to pass. The future depends upon how the lessons of the past and present are used. These are the powers that shape the age to come. They are to teach us, if we can be taught, how to end the war, whenever, by conquest or submission, the rebels are willing, or obliged, to return to their duty. This is the great problem which is to tax the statesmanship and the virtue of the country. And yet, like all other really great problems, it is a very simple one. It is only to provide that the cause and occasion of the war shall be destroyed so as never to molest the peace of the nation again. The one condition is simple, and, if evaded or omitted, will make all our losses, losses indeed—losses from which no good can arise. But we do not blink the difficulties of the details; only, we know that if the nation be resolute as to the substance, the details will arrange themselves in one way or another. Slavery sternly and effectually destroyed, and clemency and generosity may be safely extended in large measure. But we should bear in mind that the most critical, the most dangerous, the most seductive temptation that the nation has ever encountered yet will be the one which takes the white-winged form of Peace. It will demand of ourselves whether it prove an angel of light or a fiend of the pit.

THE AMERICAN QUESTION IN GLASGOW.

SOME weeks since, Mr. Spence, the champion of the rebel cause, delivered at Glasgow, Scotland, a carefully prepared lecture in its defence. On Friday evening, Dec. 11, a great public meeting was held at the City Hall, for the purpose of hearing from the Rev. James W. Massie, D.D., LL. D., and the Rev. J. Sella Martin, now of London, but lately an American slave, addresses on the origin and objects of the war in America, and exposing the fallacies of Mr. Spence. The announcement of this meeting excited the ire of the sympathizers with the rebels in Glasgow, and they endeavored, by placards of the most false and scandalous character, to so inflame the popular mind as to break it up or defeat its objects. One of these placards was couched in the following terms:

"More men wanted for the butchery in America! A great gathering of all the true lamp post philanthropists will be held on Friday night, at which one of the great luminaries will enlighten the world on the 'Glory of the Union,' as seen by his own eyes, and exemplify Lincoln's Declaration, that 'Any people, anywhere, have the right to rise up and shake off the existing government, and to form a new one that suits them better.' He will also explain War Christianity! as proclaimed by the 'Meek Apostle of the Federal Church,' in his celebrated words in Glasgow, 'Let it (the South), with all its attendant horrors, go to hell,' and close by illustrating the virtue of Parson Brownlow's prayer for 'Greek fire for the Southerners, and hell fire for their leaders,' after which, Federal enlistments will proceed, with interludes of the 'Yankee Spy System,' with 'bribery,' and other attendant variations. The minstrels will then sing the praises of Grant's last report, that 'In Memphis alone, during three months of the present year, 1,200 negro refugees miserably perished'; and chant a hymn to Lincoln, in honor of his declaration to the negro deputation, 'Begone out of the country!' The whole to conclude with Roaring O'More."

In spite of the machinations of the secessionists, the Hall was filled by an intelligent audience, the great majority of whom were in sympathy with the Union cause. On the platform were many distinguished gentlemen, clergymen and others. G. C. Dick, Esq., presided and made an appropriate introductory address.

Dr. Massie, whose recent visit to this country had afforded him great advantages for studying the whole question, was the first speaker. In spite of constant interruptions by the partisans of the South, he made an admirable defence of the Northern cause, meeting, one after another, the objections and misrepresentations of its opponents. If our columns were not over-crowded, we would gladly copy the larger portion of his speech. Here is an extract:

"Revolution can only be a right thing when there is a wrong done to those that seek to revolutionize. Now, I say that these men were doing the wrong themselves when they revolutionized (loud cries of 'No, no,' and cheers). The government of America was in the hands of slaveholders for 40 years before 1860, and they appointed slaveholders as their ambassadors until Daniel O'Connell would not shake hands with one of them in London when introduced to him; holding his hands behind his back he said, 'No, sir, I cannot take the hand of a man who holds his brother man as a slave' (enthusiastic cheering). And yet Mr. Spence wants the Queen to take by the hand Mr. Jefferson Davis, who is the biggest slaveholder of them all (hisses)—wants her to recognize the whole band of bloody, bloodthirsty slaveholders ('No, no,' and cheers). I say that every man who takes blood from his slave's back by the whip is a bloody oppressor. I have stood on the plantation of the present Gen. Robert Lee (bear, hear)—and have conversed with one of his slaves, an old woman 80 years of age, whom he whipped with his own hand when the overseer would not do it, because, having been left free by her master, whose heir she was, she ran away rather than serve five years to him for what he called legacy duty (hisses). That is your chivalrous General."

Rev. J. Sella Martin said he came to speak for those who, up to this time, had been kept dumb by the institutions under which they were compelled to suffer. He did so as one who had heard their groans, and could sympathize with them in their sufferings, as one who had felt the yoke himself (hear, hear). He thought it would be conducive to a clear understanding of the subject, if they would hear the testimony of an ex-slave on a subject of so much importance. He came there directly to answer Mr. Spence. He hoped it would not be considered presumptuous in him to do so; for whatever he lacked in learning, in social standing, and in intellectual ability, he was prepared to make up by experience (hear). Mr. Martin made an admirable speech, exposing the sophistries and misstatements of Mr. Spence, and reciting his experiences as a slave. We have room only for a single extract:

"Slavery in its very nature was a system of organized cruelty, not accidental cruelty. He would now relate an anecdote which the *Caledonian Mercury* once did him the honor to publish, so that his audience might have an opportunity of judging of the necessity of being cruel which was imposed in the very existence of the institution of slavery. He went one Saturday evening to a plantation and saw one of its slaves up to his breast in the water, and threatened by the overseer that he would be brained if he did not come out and surrender himself. The overseer, after trying in vain to get the negro taken out, sent for the young master, who, having exhausted all his threats toward the negro in vain, began to use persuasive means, telling him that he was his friend—referring in feeling terms to their early boyhood, and to the interest he had taken all along in him. But Jim—for that was the name of the negro—said he could not come out, unless his master promised that he would not be abused, adding that he had done nothing for which he should be abused; that since his children had been sold away, and the possibility of reunion becoming every day less and less, he had made up his mind to die, rather than be abused. Well, when he had said that, the young master turned away almost in tears, and said to the overseer—'The discipline of the plantation must be preserved. If Jim is successful in resisting my authority to-day, the contagion will spread through all these negroes, and all subordination on the plantation will be at an end. Shoot the negro down.' And the overseer raised his gun, and that noble man fell back lifeless in the water. He (Mr. Martin) was standing and saw that with his own eyes (sensation)."

Resolutions were adopted condemnatory of the attempt of the Southern States to form a Confederacy with the avowed object of extending and perpetuating human slavery, and agreeing to memorialize her Majesty's government to continue their present policy of non-interference, and to lend all their moral support in the abolition of slavery. The friends of the South proposed an amendment, but the feeling of the meeting was so strong against them that they withdrew it.

We are especially gratified to learn that Dr. Massie, since his return from the United States, where he made troops of friends, is thus employing his great abilities in defending the Union cause as identified with the extinction of slavery.

PLYMOUTH COUNTY, MASS.

To the Editor of The National Anti-Slavery Standard.

A SPECIAL meeting of the Old Colony Anti-Slavery Society was held at Davis's Hall in Plymouth on New Year's Day, specially to commemorate the First Anniversary of the President's proclamation of Emancipation. The prevailing storm and the bad condition of the roads affected the attendance of the friends of the Society living in other towns. The evening meeting was, however, very well attended, and the entire occasion was a very interesting and useful one.

Wendell Phillips gave his views upon the President's Amnesty proclamation, and argued the necessity of thoroughly rooting out slavery before calling back Southern men into places of official influence in the National government. He stated that Messrs. Andrew Johnson and Maynard, of Tennessee, were understood to be on their way to Washington, or already there, to remonstrate with the President on his too early permission to rebels and enemies to return and resume their old places of influence and control; and to declare to the President the peril which will thereby come to all consistent friends of the Union in Tennessee, etc., who, hitherto, have been able to maintain their ground there. The gravest evils are said to be apprehended, by these and other Union men at the South, to the cause of the Union and Liberty from the President's Amnesty. Indeed, it is clearly impossible that the true friends of our government and Union in those States will be allowed to live there, if the rebels are suffered to resume power upon the bare taking of an oath, a thing which multitudes of them will not scruple to do for the sole purpose of circumventing the President, driving out his friends and the only sincere friends of the Union living amongst them, and thus regaining the ground which they had supposed lost, and accomplishing the success alike of slavery and secession. Mr. Phillips is now abused by some hunker Republican papers, as well as by the Copperhead ones; but the soundness of his criticism and the importance of his views are manifest to all unprejudiced and patriotic minds. The President himself is too honest, too patriotic, too unselfish in his regard to his country, to allow the Amnesty to stand long as it is.

Parker Pillsbury and Samuel May, Jr., were also among the speakers. And Levi Coffin, the veteran Friend and Abolitionist of Cincinnati, spoke in a very interesting manner, presenting the case of the freed slaves now gathered into colonies on the banks of the Mississippi river. He is now soliciting contributions in behalf of these people, suffering from the Winter weather and the destitution in which they came within our lines.

No one, who has ever known the Plymouth Abolitionists, will need to be told of the hospitable homes there opened to visitor and stranger.

THE NEW YORK POLICE DEPARTMENT.—It has been the desire and purpose of Gov. Seymour and his "friends," ever since his inauguration, to effect the removal of the Metropolitan Police Commissioners, by whose fidelity to their solemn trust the freedom of speech, for Abolitionists in common with others, has for several years past been maintained in this city. He made a movement to this end a year ago, but was defeated, partly by legal obstructions, and partly by the influence of leading men in his own party, who were not willing to place the lives and the property of our citizens at the mercy of such scoundrels as Fernando Wood and Judge McCunn. If the Governor had succeeded in his project, there is too much reason to believe that the mob of July last would have resulted in a revolution, making this city the open ally of the Southern Confederacy. It was the power of the Police, wielded in the interest of the National government, that alone saved us at that time from a Reign of Terror as bloody and relentless as that which prevails at Richmond. But the Governor, once defeated, resolved to try again; and in the exercise of what he assumed to be his legal prerogative, he made an order, a few days since, removing the old Commissioners and appointing three of his partisans to take their places. The old Commissioners, however, being advised that the order of removal was illegal and therefore void, refused to vacate, and the question remains to be determined by the Courts. Meanwhile it is probable that the Legislature will take such action in the premises as will effectually defeat the project of Gov. Seymour and his "friends."

STATE LEGISLATURES.—The Legislatures of the States of New York and Pennsylvania convened on Tuesday, and that of Ohio on Monday. In this State, and also in Ohio, the Senate and House are both for the National Administration by a large majority, and the organization was promptly effected. In Pennsylvania there is a loyal majority in the House, but the Senate, in consequence of the absence of one loyal member, who is a prisoner at Richmond, is tied, and eight ballotings for a Speaker were ineffectual.

Gov. Seymour's message is characteristic, showing that his sympathies are with his "friends," the managers of the Southern Confederacy. He has no denunciation for the rebellion, but only for the government which is struggling to put it down. Gov. Tod addressed the Legislature of Ohio in a very different strain.

THE METROPOLITAN FAIR, designed to enlarge and replenish the resources of the Sanitary Commission, will be opened in this city on the 28th of March; it being thought impossible to provide, at an earlier day, a building large enough for the purpose. It is the intention of the managers that this Fair shall surpass the Fairs held for the same purpose in other cities by so much as this city is larger and richer than those. The preparations have already begun under the most encouraging auspices. All classes of citizens, without distinction of sect or party, are invited to assist. The office of the managers is in the Society Library Building, University Place, near Twelfth-st.

PERSONAL.

Hon. Salmon P. Chase, after being laid up for several days by rheumatism, is reported to be convalescent.

Although Chief-Justice Taney has improved in health it is not believed that he will sufficiently recover to attend to his duties again. Judge Wayne is officiating in his place.

Says the Washington correspondent of *The Times*: "Count Gurowski's new book will be out in about a week. Enough is known of its skinning criticisms upon eminent functionaries, military and civil, to create a general desire here to see the volume."

Mr. Wm. Everett, son of Hon. Edward Everett, and a graduate of Cambridge (England) University, has been engaged to deliver a course of the Lowell Institute Lectures, twelve in number, in Boston, on that University. A handsome compliment to the young gentleman.

Frederick Douglass will deliver a lecture—the fourth in the course of the Woman's Loyal League—at the Cooper Institute on Wednesday evening next. His subject will be "The Mission of the War." He can hardly fail to draw a full house.

The Newburyport *Herald* says that Rev. Chas. Beecher has had a call to settle at Fitchburg, Mass.—a proposition that his society at Georgetown will not hear of, notwithstanding the action of the association. His salary for the coming year was raised with unexampled promptness, four persons subscribing four hundred and fifty dollars.

Rev. Solon W. Bush of Medfield (Mass.) has become editor of the Boston *Christian Register*, the organ of the Unitarian denomination. In his hands the paper will, we trust, be more spirited and radical than it has been heretofore. He is to have the aid of several eminent clergymen as special contributors.

Susan Evans, the eloquent temperance lecturer, from Wales (only 16 years old), is laboring with great success in the interior of this State. She wins golden opinions everywhere, not less by her modesty and dignity than by her eloquence and earnestness as a speaker. She recently sent a contribution of $100 00 to the Sanitary Commission—the sum being the proceeds of the sale of her photograph likeness at her meetings. She hopes in this way to raise a thousand dollars for the benefit of our soldiers.

The Montreal *Transcript* of Saturday says that Justice Smith rendered judgment in the case of Redpath against the American Consul-General, Joshua R. Giddings, on the previous Thursday. The judgment was given at great length, and went to sustain the *capias*, and as a consequence, hold the bail—Mr. Harrison Stephens and Mr. Ira Gould—good for the appearance of the defendant, and the damages, should such be given. The affidavits placed on the record by defendant's counsel were ordered to be struck off as irrelevant and calumnious. An appeal was taken by Mr. Giddings's counsel.

George Thompson, in a letter to Mr. Garrison in last week's *Liberator*, says: "This day (Dec. 11), four weeks, I hope to be in Liverpool again, to take ship the third time to Boston. I shall only be going where my heart already is. Farewell, dear Garrison! May we soon, together, see the consummation of our hopes, and the reward of our toils, in the freedom of the slave, and the regeneration of your country! . . . . For the last three years I have done what I could to serve your country. My labor has been one of love as well as duty. I have tried to look at American affairs from the stand-point of an American; to do as I would have done if I had been an American citizen. In all your afflictions, I have been afflicted, and have not been ashamed to drink the cup prepared for you. My knowledge of your country has been of great use to me, and has enabled me to indoctrinate men of far greater influence than myself."

Mr. Peter Sinclair, whose visit to this country, some years since, as a Temperance lecturer from England, will be remembered by many of our readers, has once more arrived on our shores, bearing letters of commendation from some of the truest and best friends of the American cause in Great Britain. George Thompson, in a letter to *The Liberator*, says:

"Mr. Sinclair has been a resident in the United States, where he has travelled extensively, and has a numerous acquaintance. He well deserves the warm gratitude of those who have been lately called to take part in a bloody struggle for their own liberties, the life of their country, and the freedom of the slave. Since his return from America, two years ago, Mr. Sinclair has been incessantly occupied, and most laboriously too, in spreading information, and rekindling the dormant Anti-Slavery feeling of this country. He has, during the past year, acted most efficiently as the Secretary of the Manchester Union and Emancipation Society. I bear my cheerful testimony to the value of his services, and the esteem in which he is held by all who have been his associates. Give him, for his works' sake, a cordial greeting. A pamphlet which he brought out more than a year ago, and which you may have seen, has proved a most timely publication, and has supplied ample materials for many speeches and lectures which have since been delivered."

TO THE WOMEN OF THE NATION.

Office of the Women's Loyal National League,
Room No. 20, Cooper Institute,
New York, Jan. 5, 1864.

THINK not, in circulating the Petition, that your work will soon be forgotten. The hundreds of names gathered by you, in wandering weary miles, are not to be thrown away with waste paper, laid on the table, or under the table, but all are to be preserved in some enduring form in the nation's archives, as a part of our history.

The names of all the members of the Women's Loyal National League, and of all the persons who have circulated our petition—the sums of money received and expended—our extensive correspondence with the women of the nation, will all be bound up in book form. Every one of the thousands of letters from loyal women, demanding freedom for all, will be preserved for the admiration of our children's children.

This is not a movement of a day or an hour, to end with the circulation of this petition. It is the inauguration of the moral power of woman to be recognized in the politics of the nation. Our influence must be felt in the reconstruction of the government—in the next Presidential campaign.

Remember, "the right of petition" is the only political right we have under the Constitution. By our zeal and earnestness in the use of that, in this crisis of our nation's history, let us prove ourselves worthy of more enlarged privileges and immunities in the new Republic.

ONE HUNDRED THOUSAND names are already registered in our office—Room 20, Cooper Institute, New York. It will take NINE HUNDRED THOUSAND more to complete the million. So work on—and thus secure for yourselves a glorious immortality.

CONFESSION—"I WAS WRONG."—L. T. (Lewis Tappan, we presume), writing in *The Independent*, says:

"As I was coming to my office a few days since, I overtook an aged minister of one of the city Churches; and, as I had been accustomed to do for the past five and thirty years, proffered him the usual salutations, but with more cordiality than when he opposed the anti-slavery enterprise, and took part with the Southern portion of the Church in its opposition to the increasing free sentiment of the North. We spoke of the state of the country, the apostacy of the Southern ministers, and the prospect before us. He said "we shall have no peace while slavery exists; it is impossible for freedom and slavery to exist in the same country." I reminded him that President Lincoln, before his election, had uttered a similar sentiment, and expressed my joy to hear such remarks from him, remarking that I was especially glad that since the beginning of the rebellion he had uttered most loyal sentiments, and taken decided ground in favor of universal freedom. It was not always so, I added; at the beginning of the anti-slavery efforts, and long afterwards, you exerted your influence against us and the cause we advocated; which makes me the more rejoiced that now you feel and speak as we have done. He replied, emphatically, I WAS WRONG. Such a hearty and magnanimous avowal by a man of his years and position, was highly gratifying to me, as the knowledge of it will be to thousands who read these lines.

"The venerable minister alluded to is the Rev. Gardiner Spring, D.D. Before parting, he spoke, with much satisfaction, of the scathing reply of the Scotch clergy to the "Address to Christians throughout the World," in defence of slavery, issued by "the Clergy of the Confederate States of America"; and of his astonishment that so many ministers of the South should prove so disloyal to Christ and the government. What marvellous revolutions are taking place as results of the great conflict in which the country is engaged!"

Our Boston Correspondence.

BOSTON, January 4th, 1864.

OUR Sanitary Commission Fair has come and gone, and has raised more than a hundred and forty-five thousand dollars ($145,000), clear of all expenses, to help the sick and wounded soldiers of the Union. This gives the people of New York a fine opportunity to emulate and excel us. I rejoice that the purpose of holding such a Fair in New York has been expressed, and you have my best wishes for your success in outrunning Boston in the race of liberality. This will be a better contest than the prize fight, with the brutal details of which your metropolitan papers have been filled of late. About that contest there is just this one comfort, that the American blackguard was soundly beaten. In all rivalries in vice, vulgarity and folly, am well content to have the representative of the United States defeated. Success to our country and our countrymen when they are in the right, is the extent of my patriotism.

On New Year's day (*apropos* of which I heartily wish the Editor, and correspondents, and printers and readers of THE STANDARD a Happy New Year) the colored people of Boston celebrated the anniversary of *the* Proclamation—the document by which three million slaves were made freemen, on the first of January, 1863—the document by which, chiefly, Abraham Lincoln will live in history, unless he shall prefer to eclipse it by doing the greater and better thing that yet remains to be done. Emancipation of slaves is good, as far as it goes; but this country needs an abolition of slavery. It is good to be able to prove that certain men, and certain millions of men, are free; but what we need, considering the shameful position in which we have so long stood before the world, is to have our Constitutions, and codes, and customs agree in placing the bare claim to ownership in a slave on a footing with the demand for the surrender of purses and watches on the highway. Let us have double and treble security, henceforth, for the personal freedom of every American; every native of this country, and every resident in it.

The celebration of which I was speaking just now, when President Lincoln interrupted me, was held in the Tremont Temple, the whole day and evening of January 1st, Rev. L. A. Grimes of the Southac St. Church presiding, and Vice-Presidents and Secretaries were appointed from among the colored people of Boston and vicinity. Our friends, with a commendable freedom from prejudice, made no objection to the freest intermingling of white people among the audience and among the speakers. Indeed, from the number of distinguished persons, white and colored, who appeared on the printed programme as "speakers" but did not appear on the platform, nor in the house, it is to be feared that the managers of the meeting took the unjustifiable liberty (so often taken by other wire-pullers) of promising speakers without their consent, or even in spite of their necessary refusal.

There was, however, no want of zealous and animated speakers, and no want of audience to listen to them. The evening meeting, especially, was large and brilliant. Early in the morning session, the Emancipation proclamation was read by a young man of this city, with such appreciative emphasis as marks, on the 4th of July, our customary reading of the Declaration of Independence. Three hearty cheers in honor of this document followed the reading of it; and shortly after we heard the louder gratulatory sound of a hundred guns, which Governor Andrew caused to be fired on the Common in honor of the

of the facts and interests of to-day, and three of them relate to the subject of slavery. A vast change indeed, for a publication which hitherto has sedulously avoided the current topics of reform, and has confined itself almost exclusively to the domain of literature.

NORTH.

Our Washington Correspondence.

WASHINGTON, Jan. 3, 1864.

THE new year finds us as a nation committed irrevocably to Universal Emancipation—not to Immediate Emancipation nor Gradual Emancipation, but nevertheless to Emancipation, as a finality which will not leave a slave in the United States. From the President down to the least important head of a bureau, I know of no man connected with the government who does not advocate Emancipation. There are old clerks, doubtless, in every Department, who cannot quite forget the past, and who look back longingly to the good old days of slavery in this District, when a white man could abuse a negro without let or hindrance. But this is unavoidable, I suppose. It is enough that every man holding a prominent position is a supporter of the well-known policy of the government—Emancipation in border States and rebel States. There is, as was to have been expected, a very wide difference of opinion on the Emancipation question, some advocating gradualism and the expatriation of the colored race, and others standing firmly for Immediate Abolition and the rights of the black man in the country of his nativity. This is the only difference between Radical and Conservative Republicans. They *all* now agree that slavery is to be destroyed, and not only is to be as a matter of fact, but *must be* by the power of the government. This is a prodigious advance upon last January. Mr. Seward, Mr. Blair and Mr. Bates all agree that the President's plan for destroying slavery is a good one, and they will give it a hearty support. When it comes to the slave States that have never been given over to rebellion, they ask for time and mild influences which will gradually melt the evil institution away. In Mr. Lincoln's plan for the rebel States there is no such thing as gradualism. He has already set the slave free by proclamation, and he demands of his master, as a condition of saving his neck from the halter, that he shall, in his individual case, give effect to the proclamation so far as his own slaves are concerned.

The people, by an overwhelming majority, certainly are in favor of Emancipation, so that it can be truthfully said that the government and the people are fully and earnestly in favor of Emancipation. This was not entirely true one year ago, and the anti-slavery man has abundant cause for rejoicing.

The most remarkable event of the week, and I had almost said of the year, is the speech of a Kentucky member of Congress in this city the other night. It sounds strange to hear "the member from Kentucky" talking, for instance, like this:

"The conflict of this government, to-day, he emphatically asserted, was between freedom and slavery. He was born and reared in Kentucky, and he was himself a slaveholder; but for all this he still loved the principles of this government, and he held that the war must be vigorously prosecuted, or there would be no peace. Slavery was either right or wrong. It stood condemned to-day by the judgment of the civilized world. It was introduced into the United States in violation of one of the commands of High Heaven, which says: 'Thou shalt not steal.' He was in favor of the doctrine that no peace should be made until slavery is crushed out.

"Would it be wise, after all the slaughter of hecatombs of brave men, to be content with anything short of permanent peace, or be willing to restore the Union as it was, or the Constitution as it was, as is the cry of the base Copperhead traitors North, who are worse traitors than Jefferson Davis himself? Restore the Constitution of slavery, and twenty-five or thirty years hence our children will again have to take up arms against such an infamous rebellion as the present. He thanked God that the government is prosecuting the war in self-defence for its self-preservation."

And after those words were spoken, another Kentucky M.C. got up and said that he endorsed every word of the above! Honor to the brave Messrs. Anderson and Smith from Kentucky! It hardly seems possible that we have such representatives from a slave State in Congress. And it must be remembered that these gentlemen were elected fairly, receiving a majority of votes cast in their districts at the last Congressional election. They are slaveholders also, of the right kind—those who, like George Washington, dislike the institution, and are ready to do anything within their power to abolish it. It is to be expected that for these speeches they will incur the hatred of the Louisville *Journal*, and a fresh attack from that thoroughgoing advocate of slavery and the Union. By the way, what has become of the project, of which something was said, even in the papers, a month ago, of establishing an anti slavery, Union, daily journal in Louisville? There is need of a good journal there, and Emancipation will never be carried in Kentucky till one is established there, or at some other point in the State. In Maryland the cause of Immediate Emancipation was advocated by two able dailies in Baltimore straight through the canvass, from the beginning to the close. They did half the work of the entire contest. If such men as Messrs. Anderson and Smith are to succeed in Kentucky, they must be supported by an able journal at home.

Congress, in a few days more, will be legislating upon the Enrollment act. I am sometimes tempted to believe that the government does not desire to organize any more negro troops, and that it has little faith in the ability of colored men to fight. This cannot really be so, but there are some very curious facts connected with this subject, which have never yet been satisfactorily explained. The War Department is not willing (apparently) to pay the colored soldier the same wages that it does the white. It offers him no bounty whatever. In this District, for instance, the white raw recruit obtains $300 bounty from the government (till Jan. 5th), while the colored recruit receives not one dollar! What is harder still for the colored men, who are liable to the draft home, is, that when agents from Massachusetts come here and offer them $300, to volunteer into the colored regiments of that State, the military authorities will not permit them to accept it and leave the District. Again, the War Department will not accept a colored man as a substitute for a white drafted person. These facts, taken together, have a queer look, but they perhaps can be explained without resorting to the supposition that Mr. Stanton does not care to receive colored volunteers. There is a disposition in Congress to put these questions beyond the power of a Department to change hereafter, and it is probable that in the new legislation the black man will be paid the same wages as the white man, in the military service. Senator Wilson is moving in the matter, but I notice that in one of his bills, proposing amendments to the Enrollment act, he proposes to give the white volunteer a bounty of $100, and to the black volunteer—nothing! Why this distinction? Is there any good reason for it? I must confess that it is not surprising that until an arrangement can be effected with the rebel leaders, so that colored troops shall be treated like white men when taken prisoners, the government should not care to coax colored men to enter the service. But it does *compel* them to do it, and while this is true it seems to me that all colored men liable to the draft should have the privilege of volunteering for bounties like their white brethren.

The freedmen over at Arlington had a happy time New Year's day, celebrating the first anniversary of the proclamation. The colored people of this city gathered in their churches New Year's night, and rejoiced over the great event. The speeches, the prayers, the songs and the shouting were all keyed to the high note of freedom. If any man ever doubts whether the colored race can appreciate freedom, let him attend one of these meetings. His scepticism on that point will speedily vanish.

AVON.

NEGROES AT THE WHITE HOUSE.—Frederick Douglass, in his speech at the Decade meeting, gave an amusing account of the indignation exhibited by some of the white-skinned visitors at the Presidential mansion, when they found that he, a negro, was promptly summoned into Mr. Lincoln's presence, while they had to wait a long time in the ante-room. The President, it seems, is as ready to welcome blacks as whites to his presence. The Washington *Chronicle*, giving an account of the ceremonies at the White House on New Year's day, says:

"Years ago had any colored man presented himself at the White House at the President's levee, seeking an introduction to the Chief Magistrate of the nation, he would in all probability have been roughly handled for his impudence. Yesterday four colored men, of genteel exterior and with the manners of gentlemen, joined in the throng that crowded the Executive mansion and were presented to the President of the United States."

OBITUARY.

SAMUEL MYERS.

DIED, on the 26th of 12th mo., 1863, in Philadelphia, SAMUEL MYERS (recently from Salem, O.), aged 77 years and 26 days.

It is befitting that more than a passing notice should be given of the death of such a man.

In early childhood he was left an orphan, and without opportunities of even the rudiments of a common school education. By his own energies and application to study, under very unfavorable circumstances, he afterwards compensated for this in a measure, and acquainted himself with the general principles of the natural sciences, and became a thinker and a reasoner. Nearly forty years ago he was a co-worker with Benjamin Lundy, and was discussing the great principles of civil and religious liberty in an Anti-Slavery Society in Washington city. Unwilling to rear his family in a community cursed with the blight of slavery, and where he and they were exposed to popular violence from their opposition to it and sympathy with the slaves, he moved, and settled in Columbiana Co., Ohio, where he resided for nearly 30 years and until within a few months of his death.

Samuel Myers was a self-made, and no ordinary man. As a minister in the Society of Friends he was extensively known among the people of that sect for his liberal and philosophical views of religion.

He had many warm friends in and outside of the Society. His simple habits and plain life as a hard working farmer, his kindness and genial good sense made his companionship both agreeable and instructive. He was no sectarian, but labored and spoke wherever he found an open field. Slavery, Intemperance, Non-resistance, the Dignity and Rights of Labor, and general Education were among the the topics he was wont to discuss, and in which he engaged as a religious duty.

As a public speaker, he was clear, effective, and often eloquent, and his influence did much to enlighten and liberalize the community in which he resided.

With young people and children he was a particular favorite. As a husband and parent, such was his kindness and affection that no father could scarcely receive more unmeasured love and devotion than his children bestowed on him. His teachings and example were largely reflected in them, inspiring self-reliance and industry, with a taste for study and investigation, and aspirations to perform a useful part in life. Hence three of the five daughters who were with him during his last days and hours, performing the last services of filial affection, are successful practising physicians, doing honor to their sex and the profession.

As an Anti-Slavery man Samuel Myers was radical and unwavering, and his interest in the cause was undiminished to the last. So deeply was he affected, since the rebellion broke out, with the fear that politicians or generals would betray the government, and, with it, the last hopes of freemen, into the hands of the Southern tyrants and barbarians, that at times he could scarcely trust himself to read the record of passing events. It would have afforded him great gratification could he have attended the late Decade Anniversary and seen so many of the old and tried friends of the cause; he would have been comforted and refreshed. He lingered three weeks afterward and calmly passed away.

On the 29th inst. his remains were interred in Friends' burial ground, Fair Hill Cemetery.

At his funeral, Lucretia Mott and others paid just tributes to his many good qualities of heart and mind, and to his labors to promote practical righteousness; with the confident belief that his career in the higher life will be more successful, more glorified and beautiful.

[*Communicated.*

PROCEEDINGS OF CONGRESS.

THE two Houses of Congress reassembled, after the holiday recess, on Tuesday. In the Senate no less than twenty-five different propositions to amend the Conscription law were submitted. The bill before its Military Committee had the approval of the Secretary of War and Provost-Marshal-General. It will retain the three hundred dollar commutation clause, and among other things borrowed from the French system, the requirement that the conscript shall be responsible for his substitute's service and fitness. Mr. Ten Eyck of New Jersey made a speech in favor of the President's plan of reconstruction.

In the House a message was received from the President, recommending that the law be so modified that the bounties recently suspended may be continued at least till the first day of February next. Referred to the Military Committee.

A WORD FROM AARON M. POWELL.—Mr. Powell, in a letter dated at Fairfield, N. Y., Dec. 20, says: "Our recent meetings, as a whole, the weather considered, have been very encouraging and satisfactory—some of them very good indeed. My co-laborer (Wendell P. Garrison) wins the hearty esteem of all our anti-slavery friends, and teaches with excellent effect the lesson of the hour.

"The 'situation,' created by the President, making the dearest interests of a Race and a Nation contingent upon the will of a Supreme Court, from which emanated the Dred Scott decision, renders highly important a supplementary amendment of the Constitution, prohibiting slavery throughout the Union, in terms so plain and explicit that even the blind negro-hating Taney, with his blood-stained spectacles, can henceforth find neither warrant nor apology for slavery. I am glad to observe propositions to this end already before Congress. Through the voice of Petition all the people should say 'Amen.'

"We are introduced to pretty good sleighing here, with a temperature sufficiently zero-ish to preserve it."

BOSTON CONSERVATISM would seem to be undergoing a remarkable transformation, when *The Daily Advertiser*, long known as its most "respectable" organ, is radical enough to applaud the generous feelings of the Massachusetts black regiments in declining to accept the additional pay which was voted by the Legislature of that State in order to put them on the same footing with white troops, and to ask whether that body "cannot do something less gross than make a tender of money to prove the public sense of appreciation of the disinterested gallantry of this class of citizens," suggesting at the same time that either the Senate or the House should choose the Rev. Mr. Grimes of the colored Baptist Church in Boston for its Chaplain. It says that Mr. Grimes is universally respected as a good citizen, a pious minister, and a faithful and sensible man, and Massachusetts would do honor to herself, and in some measure do justice to her colored regiments, by electing him. This is good advice, and we hope it may be followed.

EMANCIPATION ANNIVERSARY.—The colored people of this city are so much like white people that they could not agree to act together in celebrating the first anniversary of the Proclamation of Freedom, but divided into two parties, each getting up a celebration for itself. The result, as might have been expected, was a small audience for each party, instead of one large, enthusiastic meeting. The first celebration, on the evening of New Year's day, took place at the Cooper Institute, under the auspices of the African Civilization Society, Rev. H. H. Garnet in the chair. Speeches by Mr. Garnet, Dr. Bellows, Rev. H. M. Wilson, W. H. Day and others. The second celebration was at the same place on Monday evening, under the direction of the American Freedmen's Friend Society, Rev. J. N. Gloucester presiding. Speeches were made by Mr. Gloucester, the Rev. Drs. Bellows, Boole and Cheever, Prof. Wm. H. Day and P. B. Randolph, and letters were read from Senator Sumner, Gov. Andrew, and Frederick Douglass.

PHOTOGRAPHS—large size—of the following persons for sale at this office, price 75 cents:

THEODORE D. WELD,
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON,
OLIVER JOHNSON,
THEODORE TILTON.

The likenesses are pronounced excellent—that of Mr. Weld especially.

THE FREEDOM CONVENTION, originally appointed to be held at Louisville on the 8th of January, has been postponed till such time in February or March as may hereafter be deemed best. The day originally fixed was found to be too early to obtain that general attendance and conference on the part of the friends of freedom residing in the slave States which is so much desired. Arrangements have been made for a more general representation when the Convention does take place. It will no doubt be a body of commanding influence, and uncompromising in opposition to slavery. The place of meeting is not fixed. A locality will be selected most convenient to the Southern Unionists, and due notice will be given.

Chronicles of the War.

Latest News in Brief.

DEPARTMENT OF THE GULF.

We have advices from New Orleans to Dec. 27th. There was nothing of special importance transpiring in the Department of the Gulf. Our forces in Texas were making very encouraging progress, and meeting with very little resistance. Gen. Magruder, commanding the rebel forces, had issued a proclamation, calling out everybody for the defense of the State, avowing that the defence of Western Texas "would not be given up, as reported"; that San Antonio and Austin must be fortified, and that the invaders "should be driven back to their ships." The Free State Convention in New Orleans had concluded its labors and appointed a full delegation to the National Convention at Louisville. The full delegations from the colored societies were admitted. There was no news in the city. General gayety prevailed through the holidays, and social reunions were numerous and largely attended.

THE SHENANDOAH VALLEY.

Advices from Washington represent that the operations and forces of the rebels in the Shenandoah Valley are exaggerated. A force of 6,000 or 7,000 of the enemy are said to be no nearer than Woodstock, and none have been seen in the vicinity of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad.

BATTLE IN THE CHEROKEE COUNTRY.

A dispatch from Leavenworth states, that on the 18th of December a fight took place near Fort Gibson, Cherokee country, between Col. Phillips, with the loyal Indian brigade, and 1,000 guerillas under the cutthroat Quantrell. The rebels were thoroughly defeated, and left fifty killed and wounded on the field.

GEN. BUTLER AND THE EXCHANGE OF PRISONERS.

Washington, Jan. 4.—Our government will not permit Gen. Butler to be outlawed by Judah P. Benjamin. The exchange of prisoners, committed solely to him, will be continued in his hands. Secretary Stanton determined to-day to enlarge his powers and confirm his agency, by putting all the rebel prisoners in the United States under his care. There will be thirty thousand of them at Point Lookout within three weeks. The policy is resolutely decided on of insisting that the exchanges shall take place through Gen. Butler, and that none shall take place except through him. Jeff. Davis was in favor of recognizing him, as Commissioner Ould had already done. Benjamin, who wrote the proclamation outlawing Butler, effected a majority vote in the Cabinet against dealing with him, on the ground that he was an outlaw. President Lincoln's last proclamation outlawed the whole Richmond government, and through this equality in disability there is no doubt that the exchanges will again be reestablished.—*Times.*

Washington, Tuesday, Jan. 5, 1864.—The mission of Gen. Butler here has a much wider reach than has yet been stated, and relates to future plans of the utmost importance, the nature of which must remain secret till subsequent action on the part of the rebels causes their development. General Butler had another protracted interview to-day with the President, Secretary Stanton, and Gen. Halleck, and is understood to have received their indorsement of his proposed course, and had full powers given him to carry the same into effect. That all the rebel prisoners, about 38,000 in number, are to be transmitted to his Department, is true, and retaliatory measures, to a proper and legitimate extent, have been determined upon. There is also embraced in Gen. Butler's scheme a move in the game which the rebels little think of, and which cannot fail to bring them to terms. He has prepared a counter move to every possible contingency, and whether they refuse to hold communication with him or not, the result will be the same.—*Tribune.*

DEPARTMENT OF KANSAS.

An order has been issued creating the "Military Department of Kansas," including Fort Smith, and assigning Maj.-Gen. Curtis to the command. Gen. Curtis has at last had his reputation cleared from all the suspicions which enemies in Missouri had heaped against it, and he is honored with an important command. The President is very slow sometimes in awarding justice to his best friends, but he very rarely omits in the end to compensate the injured man for the apparent neglect with which he has been treated. It was so in the case of General Butler, and is now so in the case of General Curtis.—*Wash. Cor. Eve. Post.*

The Army and the Negroes.

"EVERYWHERE THE AMERICAN GENERAL RECEIVES HIS MOST USEFUL AND RELIABLE INFORMATION FROM THE NEGRO, *who hails his coming as the harbinger of Freedom.*"—*Wm. H. Seward's Official Dispatch to Mr. Adams.*

COLORED CONTRACTORS.

The colored people of Philadelphia are applicants before the War Department for a contract for Quartermaster's supplies. David B. Bowser and Jacob C. White had an interview with Secretary Stanton recently, and offered to engage to make and deliver in thirty, sixty, and ninety days, shirts, drawers, haversacks, and blouses, to the extent of three hundred thousand of either. They received assurances that colored people should be placed hereafter on the same footing with whites, in the matter of contracts, to do work for the government.—*Cor. Times.*

CONDUCT OF COLORED SOLDIERS.

HEADQUARTERS DEPARTMENT OF THE SOUTH,
ENGINEER'S OFFICE, FOLLY ISLAND, S. C.,
Dec. 10, 1863.

GENERAL: In accordance with your instructions, I have the honor to submit the following statement relating to the amount and nature of the fatigue duty performed by the colored troops of this command, as compared with the white, in those portions of our recent operations against the defenses of Charleston Harbor, which were under my direction, viz: The defensive lines across Morris Island, the approaches against Fort Wagner, and part of the breeching batteries against Fort Sumter.

In the engineering operations, 23,500 days' work of seven hours each were expended, of which 5,500 were by engineer troops, and 18,000 by infantry; 9,500 days' work, being more than half of that performed by the infantry, and two-fifths of the whole, were by blacks, all being volunteer troops.

The whole of this work was done under a fire of artillery or sharpshooters, or both, and the greater part of it in the night.

My own observation, confirmed by the testimony of all the engineer officers who had the immediate superintendence of the work, proves that the blacks, as a rule, did a greater amount of work than the same number of whites, but the whites were more skillful, and had to be employed on the more difficult part of the work, comprising about one-fifth of the whole.

We found the black soldier more timorous than the white, but in a corresponding degree more docile and obedient, doing just what he was told to the best of his ability, but seldom with enthusiasm.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,
T. B. BROOKS, Major, A. D. C. and Asst. Eng'r.
Major-Gen. Q. A. GILLMORE, Com'd'g Dep't of South.

THE TWENTIETH COLORED REGIMENT.

The 20th Regiment of the United States Colored Troops is now fully recruited, upwards of seven hundred of the men are at Riker's Island, and the remainder are at Elmira. Almost every County in the State of New York is represented in this fine regiment, which embraces nearly one hundred men who stand six feet in their stockings; as a general rule they are a well-formed, symmetrical body of men, and when they make their appearance in uniform on Broadway, as they will in the course of a month, the friends of the Union in the Empire City will be proud of these "black warriors." In about thirty days, these men will be marched to the Club House in Union Square, when a stand of colors, the gift of some of the most distinguished ladies in New York, will be presented to them.—*Tribune.*

GRAND REVIEW AT PORT HUDSON.

The colored troops at Port Hudson were lately reviewed by Gen. Wadsworth and Adjt.-Gen. Thomas. The correspondent of *The Tribune* says:

"What an encouraging sight was presented to the sincere lover of our Republic! Here were regiments, brigades and divisions of troops, than whom none are more devoted, none more brave, none more ready for battle against the common enemy. These are not nine months' men, who refuse to fight, and commit mutiny in the midst of a battle. They are not three years' men, anxious to abandon their cause as soon as their time is up; no, they are men who will fight on, till the 'last armed foe expires.' Gen. Wadsworth expressed his pleasure at the perfection of these soldiers, and wondered how they could have attained such proficiency in the midst of such immense labor as had to be expended on the forts. We are proud enough when we contemplate the fact that but a few months ago rebel feet trod this ground, and rebel bayonets bristled behind these works, and now the victims, who were crushed and bound beneath the yoke of slavery, hoping and praying and praying and hoping that these rebel masters would be overthrown and they be free—how pleasing to witness these now, not slaves, but men and soldiers, treading the same soil, and defending, with the same weapons, these same works against their former oppressors! Strange things occur in this world of ours. How wonderfully does God, with a single turn of his hand, accomplish what it would take men a thousand years to do! The cruel race of men who inherited this goodly land down here, are now rolling down, down into the pit which their own wicked hands have digged, and we are proud to stand here in the midst of the oppressed, to hear their song of deliverance, and to say, 'Amen' while they deal one of those deadly blows which hasten on the grand consummation. And one thing is certain; if ever the enemy come to disturb us here, there will be a demonstration of the valor of these troops that will raise them higher than any former experience has been able to do. The old rebel works are enlarged, and new ones constructed. This place can now be called a Gibraltar. With a hundred thousand of these troops, such as we must soon have, the institution of slavery can no more live again than the ox who is slaughtered and dished out to a hungry crowd. With these troops we have an army who will fight forever rather than the government of the United States fall in its great and noble work.

"When Gen. Ullman sent to the government for instructors whose duty it should be to teach these troops the common rudiments of learning, he saw far ahead, and did a very wise thing. The instructors sent by the government are already here and doing good work. They are mustered into the service, with rank as lieutenants. There is no doubt that the General who has supplied this vacuum, has dealt a blow upon both slavery and rebellion which experience and time will pronounce one of the best that could be given.

"As an evidence of the changes in the public mind, and the popularity of this corps at present, the Examining Board have in their hands at this moment, as many as eight hundred applications for commissions."

"A FUNNY LITTLE EPISODE."

Correspondence of The St. Louis Democrat.

Natchez, Miss., Dec. 11.—* * * It was worth a visit to their camps to see the behavior of our colored troops. The 2d Mississippi Artillery had just been armed and the desire to get a shot at *ole massa* stuck out very plainly. They are getting to look very soldierly, and a funny little episode which occurred a few days previously on the Louisiana side, evinced their mettle, and the spirit and dash which characterizes their commanding officers.

Colonel Farrar, commanding at Vidalia, learned one afternoon through a lady, that a military ball was to be given that night at a Mr. Johnson's plantation, on Black river, thirty-three miles distant. Unfortunately the Colonel's mounted force was on the Natchez side, having been scouting, and it was then too late to cross them to the Louisiana side. Determined not to let such an opportunity slip, he hastily mounted ten men of the 30th Missouri and twenty-five of the 2nd Mississippi Artillery, A. D., then on duty at that post, and with them, though not an invited guest, started for the scene of festivity. The route pursued led directly through the swamp, which being partially covered with water rendered a rapid movement almost impossible. Nothing daunted, the little band pushed on, and by 4 a.m. had approached within a half a mile of the house. Here dismounting, they moved cautiously along the unguarded road to within a few rods of the scene of mirth and merriment. The brilliant lights which gleamed from the windows and the sweet cadence of the music told that all went merry within. To rush through the gateway and surround the mansion was the work of a moment. Colonel F. and Captain Orgue dashing into the house, pistol in hand, demanded the surrender of every Confederate officer and soldier there. They did this, will you believe it, oh reader, followed by a squad of the rebels' own countrymen and brothers from the 2d Mississippi heavy artillery of African descent! Of course the Confederacy surrendered. Now, the Colonel, who is reputed to be as gallant as he is brave, not wishing to mar entirely so festive an occasion, kindly requested the guests to continue the dance. The music once more struck up; and not yet being too old for such enjoyment, the Colonel himself led upon the floor a fair and blushing daughter of the South, and with her was soon lost in the dizzy mazes of the waltz. Daybreak warned the little party of the danger of delay. The prisoners were hastily mounted on their own good steeds, adieus were given to their sorrowing friends, and each with a sable guard by his side, commenced their Northern journey. At 11 a.m. the little party had safely returned to Vidalia, accomplishing a march of sixty-six miles in fifteen hours. This is a good joke on the Confederacy, and pays them for a similar trick played on our boys a year or so since back of Memphis. Not the most agreeable part of the joke, so far as the secesh were concerned, was marching them through the city of Natchez between a dozen negro guards. Said one of them, "Can't we have a white guard, Colonel?" "No," said he, "the negroes took you, and it is right that they should guard you."

BLACK SOLDIERS IN CONFLICT WITH BLOODHOUNDS.

On Sunday evening, Nov. 22, a scouting party of 50 men, belonging to Col. Higginson's regiment, 1st South Carolina colored troops, was sent, under the command of Capt. Bryant. 8th Maine Volunteers, and Capt. Whitney, 1st S. C. Colored Volunteers, to release 28 colored people held in pretended slavery by a man named Hayward, near Pocotaligo, S. C. The expedition was successful. The captives were released and their freedom restored to them. Two rebel horse soldiers, stationed as pickets, were regularly captured as prisoners of war. These men were members of the 1st South Carolina cavalry (rebel). Their comrades, 75 in number, under command of a Major, pursued the raiding party toward the ferry at Barnwell's Island. The negroes received them in ambush, and fired on them at 20 paces, emptying several saddles, and putting them to flight. Obtaining reinforcements and artillery, they tracked the retreating colored men with bloodhounds (called in the South "negro dogs"). The dogs dashed into the party in advance of their comrades, the rebels. One hound was shot and left with broken legs upon the field. Five others were impaled upon the bayonets of the Union troops, and brought as trophies into their camp.

The bloodhounds were all killed; several of the brave cavaliers who hounded them in were wounded and taken prisoners, and a rebel major brought off without a scar. In order to learn the physical condition of this rebel major, and supply his wants, communication through flag of truce became necessary. Col. Higginson, with his negro troops, was still doing picket duty on Port Royal Island. The flag of truce appeared—Major Trowbridge, of the 1st South Carolina, went out to meet it. Major John C. Calhoun, grandson of John C. Calhoun, bore the communication from the rebel authorities, and without a single word of protest, held official intercourse with an officer of the National Army commanding negro troops. The first negro soldier killed in this war was named John Brown. Is it not fitting that the first rebel officer whose official duty it became to recognize officers commanding negro troops should be named John C. Calhoun?—*Cor. Tribune.*

COLORED TEAMSTERS.

A Board has been convened to prepare regulations for the organization of colored teamsters to be enlisted in Kentucky and Tennessee. They are to be uniformed and in all respects cared for as enlisted soldiers.

MURDER OF NEGRO SOLDIERS BY THE REBELS.

The New York *Evening Post* states editorially that the War Department has information by way of Texas that the eighty negro soldiers captured by the rebels at Milliken's Bend, last June, were murdered by them. They were first conveyed into the country several miles and placed in close confinement. No intimation of their fate was given them. After several days the two officers were taken out at dead of night, and the word given out that they had escaped. It now appears that they were hanged, without previous notice of even a semblance of a trial, in obedience to a secret order from the rebel Secretary of War. A few days afterward the other prisoners also disappeared mysteriously, and there is no doubt that they also were secretly murdered by direction of the Richmond authorities. What retaliation shall be inflicted for these most barbarous atrocities is yet to be determined.

The following paragraph from the Richmond *Enquirer* is little less than a confession that captured negro soldiers have been murdered:

"The Yankees are not going to send their negro troops into the field—they know as well we do that no reliance can be placed upon them; but as depot guards, prison guards, &c., they will relieve their white troops. This is the use that will be made of them. Should they be sent to the field, and be put in battle, *none will be taken prisoners—our troops understand what to do in such cases. If any negroes have been captured during the war, as soldiers in the enemy's ranks, we have not heard of them. We do not think that such a case has been reported.*"

MORTON'S GOLD PENS are now sold at the same prices as before the commencement of the war; this is entirely owing to the Manufacturer's improvements in machinery, his present large Retail Business and Cash-in-Advance System; for, until he commenced advertising, his business was done on Credit and *strictly with the Trade.*

The Morton Gold Pens are the only ones sold at old prices, as the makers of all other gold pens charge the Premium on the Gold, Government Tax, etc.; but Morton has in no case changed his prices, Wholesale or Retail.

Of the great numbers sent by mail to all parts of the world during the past few years, not one in a thousand has failed to reach its destination in safety; showing that the Morton Gold Pen can be obtained by any one, in every part of the world, at the same price, postage only excepted.

Reader, you can have an enduring, always ready, and reliable Gold Pen, exactly adapted to your hand and style of writing, which will do your writing vastly cheaper than Steel Pens; and at the present almost universal High-Pressure Price of everything, you can have a Morton Gold Pen cheaper, in proportion to the labor spent upon it and material used, than any other Gold Pen in the World. If you want one, see the "Pen is Mightier than the Sword," on the fourth page.

Summary.

Thomas Howard has confessed to the theft of Mr. George W. Curtis's carpet-bag from the Elmira depot. He had committed many other robberies at the same place.

Queen Victoria has forbidden the use of tobacco for smoking purposes within the limits of Windsor Castle. No persons, gentle or ungentle, officials, servants or laborers, are permitted any longer to smoke in the Castle or about it.

The new State of West Virginia has been divided by her Legislature into townships, like other free States and unlike the slave States, which have no civil division below Counties. She has also adopted a comprehensive free school system. They say West Virginia is unconstitutional; but she don't act like it.

A refugee from Richmond, a man of note, who has just reached Baltimore, predicts that when the crisis comes Jeff Davis will cut his throat! He says he knows the arch-traitor well, and that suicide will certainly be his fate. He says the same of Pickens of South Carolina and some others.—*Balt. Cor. Eve. Post.*

JOHN BROWN AND SLEIGH BELLS.—Yesterday evening the railroad boys of St. Joseph were enjoying themselves by "mixing in" with a sleigh ride. Four-horse teams were in requisition, and, added to the tin-tin-nabulation of the bells, did they make the streets ring with the song of "John Brown"; sung, as Captain Reed said of the Elder's song of Rally Round the Flag—in a "seditious and revolutionary spirit." Who would have thought it? In St. Joseph, too!—*St. Joseph Herald, 18th.*

The Methodists have begun an organized effort to revive the Methodist Church in the South. Their Missionary Committee has appropriated $35,000 for the purpose, and one of the Bishops of the Church has arrived at St. Louis, preparing to start upon a tour down the Mississippi, and to reconnoitre the ground in the States of Missouri, Arkansas, Mississippi and Louisiana. Another Bishop will soon visit Tennessee and Kentucky. A third, we understand, will probably visit a number of the Eastern slave States.

FRUITS OF THE AMNESTY PROCLAMATION.—The Choctaw chieftain, McCurtain, and other rebel Indian leaders, came into our camp at Fort Smith, Arkansas, on the 24th, and surrendered themselves to Gen. McNeill. They have abandoned the rebel alliance, and profess a desire to avail themselves of the President's Amnesty Proclamation. Their example, it is thought, will have a powerful influence over the other rebel tribes.

OUR LOYAL WOMEN.—There is no organization of the Women's Loyal League in Concord. There is a general movement, however, throughout the free States to obtain the signatures of the loyal women to present to the present Congress, for the general abolition of slavery in this country. Mrs. Amos Wood and Mrs. Parker Pillsbury, last week, circulated petitions as far as they were able through the city, in the limited time allowed them, and secured 700 good and true names to help forward this great movement. These two ladies deserve the praise of every loyal man and woman, for their devotion to the cause of human rights.—*Concord (N. H.) Independent Democrat.*

Some time ago, it will be remembered, a number of the students of the University of Michigan participated in a Vallandigham demonstration in Canada. The affair was widely noticed at the time, and gave rise to doubts as to the loyalty of this institution of learning. Very fortunately the Vallandigham men did not comprise a twentieth part of the students in attendance, and the majority seeing the mischief that was done took steps to correct it. On the 5th ult. they met in mass convention, over seven hundred strong, and passed a series of resolutions strongly denouncing the act of the Vallandighamers, and declaring unqualified hostility to all men and parties opposed to the government.

A FRANK CONFESSION.—The New York *Herald*, which for a week past has been running Gen. Grant for the Presidency, says of President Lincoln:

"We abandon 'Honest Old Abe' as a hopeless case. We have puffed him, we have praised him, we have helped him in every way, but can get no good out of him. To use one of his own homely similes, he is a crooked stick, that cannot be bent, and that will have to be broken."

Which means that President Lincoln is the only Chief Magistrate for many years past who would not throw a sop to the *Herald*.—*Boston Journal.*

GARRISONIAN CONVENTION.—There was a Garrisonian Convention in Eagle Hall in this city, on Friday evening last, at which John Foss, Esq., of this city presided. Speeches were made by Andrew T. Foss, Wm. A. Jackson, the escaped coachman of Jeff. Davis, and Stephen S. Foster, of Worcester, Mass. Of Mr. Foss and Mr. Foster we need not speak, for they always speak well and tell the truth, which is hard for traitors to bear. Mr. Jackson, always a slave until about nine months ago, is a very intelligent man, and relates many interesting facts in his speech in relation to Southern society and the rebellion generally. He speaks "from the book," for he has been a slave long enough to know all about it. These three gentlemen, we understand, will speak in many places in our State during the present Winter.—*Concord (N. H.) Independent Democrat.*

A CONFEDERATE MINT IN NEW YORK.—Marshall Murray and his detective force have been for some time very busy in tracing out a nest of money makers—of men employed in this city to manufacture the paper money which the Confederate Government foists upon its army and people. It appears by an intercepted letter that Winthrop C. Hilton, of 11 Spruce street, had made a formal contract with Mr. Memminger to supply the apparatus and material for printing Confederate notes. On Thursday the Marshal, with a force of men, seized the establishment, and found lithographic stores for printing notes of various denominations. At 37 Park Row, where Hilton had a room, were also found about six million of Confederate bonds and about one million of notes. Hilton was sent to Fort Lafayette, and Mr. Memminger will probably never see either his notes or his printing apparatus.—*Eve. Post.*

THE ABOLITION OF SLAVERY IN VIRGINIA.—The Legislature of Virginia, recently in session at Alexandria, passed a bill calling a Convention for the abolition of slavery in that State. The preamble states the necessity of changing the Constitution so as to conform it to the provisions of the President's proclamation abolishing slavery in those districts which are not embraced within the Emancipation Proclamation, and to the new boundaries of the State, orders an election to be held on the 31st of January, throughout the Commonwealth, at which election any voter who has not adhered to the rebels since the 1st of September, 1861, may be chosen to the convention, and all loyal citizens who have not assisted the rebels since the 1st of January, 1863, shall be entitled to vote. The executive is authorized to appoint County Commissioners to superintend the election, whose duty it shall be to count the votes and give certificates. Any one whose vote may be challenged is required to take an oath to support the Constitution, and to declare that he has not voluntarily borne arms against the United States, or in any way given aid or comfort to the enemy.

THE NEGRO AMONG WHITE AMERICANS IN ENGLAND.—The universal deepening of anti-slavery sentiment among Americans in this country attracts general observation. Thrown in constant contact with negroes in society here, they invariably treat them with courtesy. Here is an instance: at the great Thanksgiving Day breakfast at St. James's Hall, where all loyal Americans here were present, where R. J. Walker, an old Mississippian and Democrat presided, and where Minister Adams made a speech—the Thanksgiving prayer was offered by Sella Martin, a fugitive slave, who was called upon for that purpose by the Chairman. George Thompson, who was present, said, "If I had been told three years ago that I would have seen a fugitive slave acting as the clergyman for a gathering of all the Americans in London, and sitting at the table beside the Hon. Robert J. Walker and the American Minister, I would have believed the man who prophesied it a madman."—*M. D. Conway, in The Commonwealth.*

A NEGRO DEFENDING HIMSELF.—Just before the close of the meeting of colored citizens at the Cooper Institute on New Year's night, a tall, straight, broad shouldered, symmetrical negro, quietly left the hall and was proceeding peaceably to his residence, when a company of drunken loafers who were passing down the Fourth avenue, near Eighth street, saw him and shouted "there goes a d——n nigger—let us kill him." Suiting the deed to the word they forthwith commenced an assault. The negro retreated quickly at first, fronting the assailants, defending himself in a manner that would have been no discredit to the pugilistic skill of Heenan or King. Striking straight from the shoulder he leveled a rowdy at every blow. He then ran a few steps to separate his assailants, and again turning suddenly upon his pursuers with a well directed blow laid the foremost sprawling in the street. In this way he kept up a running fight until he reached the doors of the Institute, when a score or more policemen rushed from the Hall and surrounded the assassins, who fled like sheep. One of their number was caught ingloriously for mercy when he was caught, but he got a good clubbing, and lost his hat in the bargain. Those who witnessed the transaction were delighted to see the plucky negro rub the black of his hands into the white faces of the wretches who would not have dared to have met him face to face and foot to foot in a square fight.—*Tribune.*

LECTURE OF MISS ANNA DICKINSON.—The Second lecture of the Lyceum series was delivered at Mechanic's Hall, Thursday, by Miss Dickinson of Philadelphia. The hall, galleries and floor, was thronged at an early hour. Since the first appearance of the fair orator in this city, some two or three years ago, she has employed her superior gifts in the cause of the country with all an earnest woman's devotion. Those who first heard her from impulses of curiosity listen to her now with the interest and respect due to a person of acknowledged influence and power. She lectured last night upon "the duties of the hour," passing in review the salient political events of the last half century, grouping together the more important incidents bearing upon the war, with the familiarity and appropriateness of a person schooled in public affairs. The fact that these large and stately questions were discussed by a young and attractive woman, with so much of a man's directness, and of a woman's grace and dignity, may explain a part of the interest which she everywhere awakens. Beyond this, however, she has a peculiar and impressive manner of illustration, compelling you to accept her convictions and to think her thoughts by the touching simplicity with which she connects them with incidents almost too sad for speech. The story

Miscellaneous Department.

THE THIRD DECADE.

ON THE CELEBRATION OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, AT PHILADELPHIA, DECEMBER, 1863.

They quiet left behind,
And station they resigned,
Pilgrims afar for Freedom and for Truth!
At Duty's high behests,
They stifled in their breasts
The eager longings of the heart of youth;
And theirs were scorn and shame
Instead of love and fame,
Peril obscure, and pain that hath no name.

Theirs was the prophet's woe—
Misfortune to foreknow,
Yet plead and warn in vain of judgment near:
The dreamer to awake,
The reveller's cup to break,
Heralds of wrath and oracles of fear!
To mock with bitter sneer—
To chide with frown austere—
Harsh tasks for loving heart, unwilling seer!

Or soon or late, the world is fiercely just!
This they knew, and stood serene, and saw
The years go by, and mock their trust
In Order and in Law.
They waited; but they wait no more. Behold!
The hour *is* of the wrath which they foretold.
O! who can doubt in such an hour as this,
For nations as for men there is a Nemesis?

They ask not tardy honors at your hands—
Statue, or song, or wreath!
They are avenged! The future shall requite,
Or, if not here, above! They sowed the seeds
Of thoughts, ye reap to-day in glorious deeds:
Yet theirs were nobler, but for whom the night
Of evil dreams, in which ye lay as long,
Deaf to the warning voice, the awakening song,
Had deepening brought unknown to the sleep of death.

Yet listen to the voices deep,
Which could not flatter nor fawn
In the darkness of days agone:
This the only boon they crave
Whose heavy eyelids long for sleep
Within the quiet grave.
Listen! 'tis selfish wisdom which commands:
Nor mar with little hearts the labor of their hands!

—*Commonwealth.*

THE PROCLAMATION OF EMANCIPATION.

LETTER TO THE PRESIDENT FROM THE COMMITTEE OF THE FREEDMAN'S AID SOCIETIES—THE ACT CREATING A BUREAU OF EMANCIPATION.

THE following is the Message of the President of the United States communicating a letter addressed to him from a Committee of gentlemen representing the Freedman's Aid Societies of Boston, New York, Philadelphia and Cincinnati, in relation to the freedmen under the proclamation of Emancipation:

To the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States:

Herewith I lay before you a letter addressed to myself by a committee of gentlemen representing the Freedman's Aid Societies in Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Cincinnati. The subject of the letter, as indicated above, is one of great magnitude and importance, and one which these gentlemen, of known ability and high character, seem to have considered with great attention and care. Not having the time to form a mature judgment of my own as to whether the plan they suggest is the best, I submit the whole subject to Congress, deeming that their attention thereto is almost imperatively demanded.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

December 17, 1863.

WASHINGTON, D. C., Dec. 1, 1863.

SIR: We appear before you a Committee of gentlemen representing the Freedman's Aid Societies of Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Cincinnati, and in general, the anxieties and sympathies of the American people in regard to the present position and future prospects of the freedmen created by your proclamation of Emancipation.

It is not necessary to tell you how wide-spread and deep-seated the interest in this question is. None can know as well as you do, at the very centre of all complaints and of all information, the pressing nature of the subject. The facts in the case are of a kind to force themselves on the dullest observation; nay, they are facts, many of which might just as well have been stated before they occurred as since. growing as they do out of the nature of the case. Little is happening among the slaves who have found their freedom with the advance of our armies which was not predicted, or which could have been substantially averted. The very nature of slavery provides with fearful certainty for all the evils attending its own removal. It slowly arms against itself the retribution of Heaven and the vengeance of society; and when it calls down, as it always does sooner or later, civil war and social revolution upon its own domain, the tottering pillars of its barbarous civilization fall with terrific weight upon those who escape through the ruins into liberty, bearing equally the dull mark of the chain and the more bloody mark of the struggles by which that chain has been broken. Sir, nothing can prevent the exodus of four million slaves from being through a wilderness. Do the best the united energies of the government and the people can, a fearful percentage of mortality, and even a more distressing amount of suffering that does not mercifully kill, is sure to attend the transition of the oppressed humanity of the negro race from a state of forced labor to a condition of voluntary industry. The prospect of this misery deterred for a generation the sympathies of those who dread physical suffering more than moral wrong, and famine, disease, and death more than intellectual degradation, moral blindness, and spiritual ruin, from lending their countenance to the rising sentiment of liberty for the negro.

But God took that question out of the hands of man; away from prudential, economic, or human calculations, and made it simply a fact and a necessity. The national instincts of self-preservation have precipitated general, if not universal, emancipation upon us a century in advance of merely human arrangement or hopes. With all the misery that attends and must attend the sudden liberation of millions of slaves, God shows that he prefers that misery, with its glorious cause and consequences, to all the ease, comfort, or content which ever accompanied a firmly established and prosperous slave society. It is no longer a matter within our control. Liberty has been proclaimed to three million men, of whom five hundred thousand are already in the possession of it. Every foot our army advances it leaves new freedmen behind it. The late glorious victory at Chattanooga has probably loosed 50,000 freedmen. Gen. Grant is advancing into a region into which it is estimated 1,800,000 slaves have been crowded, under a vain hope of their masters there to hold them safe from our liberating touch. For every mile he makes 10,000 freedmen drop their chains. If the Freedmen's Aid Societies, generous as the support they have received has been, are appalled at the work now on their hands; sickened at their imperfect efforts to meet the necessities created by the dislocation of labor, the separation of families, the destruction of homes with all the utensils of industry; and with the care of the aged, the infirm, and the young, thrown upon those unwonted to their ways, what must be their alarm in facing a future in which this want and misery shall be multiplied a hundred fold?

It is not, Mr. President, that we are seriously in doubt as to the methods to be adopted with the freedmen, for we have not been disappointed in the schemes in their favor we have already planned and executed. It is only that these schemes are small, and must continue so; while the demand for their adoption is large, beyond even our present power to meet it, and growing with prodigious strides every hour. It is the magnitude, not the nature of the work, that appals us, and drives us to the government for aid and support. We have found the freedmen easy to manage, beyond even our best hopes; willing and able to fight as a soldier; willing and able to work as a laborer; willing and able to learn as a pupil; docile, patient, affectionate, grateful; and, although with a great tribal range of intellect from nearly infantile to nearly or quite the best white intelligence, yet with an average mental capacity above the ordinary estimates of it.

We have no doubts of the aptitude of the slave for freedom under any fair circumstances. But we see that his circumstances must inevitably be unfair under the best arrangements the government can make, and that, independently of a great and paternal care on the part of the government, they will be so bad as to wring cries of shame and indignation from the civilized world, dishearten the friends and advocates of emancipation at home, and give new vitality to the disloyal suggestions of the slaveholders' allies in the North and West.

Mr. President, the success of our war is a succession of practical emancipations for the slaves. With every triumph comes a new care and anxiety, a new privilege and duty. Has the government any moral right to free the slave without seeing to it that, with every chain it breaks, the best within its power is done to keep the freedman from hankering after his master and his bondage, from feeling that his liberty is a burden, his life a curse, and his domestic affections even more fatal to his peace under our flag than beneath the plantation whip? Shall he hunger and thirst, shall he go naked and cold, shall he wander houseless and die unburied, shall his aged parents and his young children be scattered where he cannot find them, and in unspeakable misery lay their bones together, too old and too young to contend with their fate, upon the strange and distant soil to which fear and want have driven them? While anything remains undone within the power of the nation or the government to do to alleviate or diminish this misery, the Christian principle and pity of our people will allow none who are responsible for it to rest in peace.

There is not yet in the public mind any duly awakened sense of the magnitude of the negro question, as for two years there was not of the war itself. The government must know, even better than the people, what the vastness of the question is, and is it not proper for us to ask if, Mr. President, the government is doing, or preparing to do, what is necessary to meet it; to reduce the evils connected with emancipation to their lowest point, and elevate its blessings to the highest; to establish a system, carefully considered and adapted, and executed with energy and zeal, for the thorough and general dealing with the freedmen. It is plain to us, with our experience, that the question is too large for anything short of government authority, government resources, and government ubiquity to deal with. The plans, the means, the agencies, within any volunteer control, are insignificant in their adequacy to the vastness of the demand. Our relief associations have discharged their highest duty in testing many of the most doubtful questions touching the negroes' ability, and willingness to come under direction when direction has lost its authoritative character. They have proved the freedman's diligence, docility and loyalty; his intelligence and value as a laborer. They have alleviated much want and misery also. But were their resources ten times what they are, and ten times what they can be made, they would be no substitute for the governmental watchfulness and protection which so numerous a race under such extraordinary circumstances requires. In our judgment, the present and the future of the freedmen demands a kind, and degree of study, of guidance, and of aid, which it is in the nature of things impossible the government should give indirectly, or by means of any existing bureau or combination of bureaus. The case is large enough, serious enough, urgent enough, involving the nation's interest, its humanity, the respect of the people for the Administration, and our reputation throughout the world, to require the best ability the country offers, organized in a regularly constituted government bureau, with all the military and civil powers of the government behind it, with all the existing machinery of transportation, commissary stores, and quartermaster's facilities, with all the omnipresence of the national agencies coördinated, and brought to bear upon the treatment of the case.

We ask, then, your interposition with Congress, recommending the immediate creation of a bureau of emancipation, charged with the study of plans and the execution of measures for easing, guiding, and in every way judiciously and humanely aiding the passage of our emancipated and yet to be emancipated blacks from their old condition of forced labor to their new state of voluntary industry. We ask it for many reasons, but we will content ourselves with stating only two:

1. It is necessary that there should be a central office, to collect from original investigations, and to receive from investigations already made and making, the now scattered information and varied and undigested testimony respecting the condition, wants, and prospects of the freedmen. The amount of knowledge now existing in private hands, or local spheres and associations is already great, but it is nearly useless for want of being arranged and brought into systematic order. If offered to the government, as it constantly is, it is brought to officials already overburdened with cares and duties, and laid before departments which are not yet agreed as to the precise sphere within which it falls. The honest differences of departments as to their authority and responsibility in the case have been the chief obstruction to the methods of dealing promptly with the necessities of the freedman. Were a bureau in existence with no other duty but to attend to this vast and ever-expanding class of our fellow-creatures, countrymen, and citizens, it would at once be able to concentrate, and in the shortest possible time to methodize, the now diffused and disjointed testimony in the case, and from its central and commanding point of view to devise plans and measures which would satisfy the humanity and relieve the anxieties of the nation.

2. It is not merely a central office that is wanted. It must be a government bureau. The various Freedman's Associations—rich, numerous, and powerful—might unite and establish a central office at Washington, in which should converge all the light and knowledge collected at the most distant points of the circumference, and from which wise and humane plans might originate and radiate in all directions. But such a central office, disconnected from the government, as in that case by the hypothesis it would be, without any right to official information or assistance, would lack the chief illumination now required, which is simply this: a knowledge how the existing machinery of the government in all departments can be brought to bear on the problem of guidance, support, and relief in this temporary though not brief state of the transition of millions of bondmen from forced to free labor. This is a problem in which the vast, costly, omnipresent machinery and agencies of the government already existing, with the least possible disturbance, are to be economized and applied to the work of starting and aiding a humane process of emancipation.

We need not tell you, sir, that the coördination of bureaus and departments of our government is a matter which novices cannot understand, and by which outsiders cannot, to any great extent, profit.

There is no such thing as a semi-official connection with the government, and all efforts to create such an anomaly are vain. The very essence of government authority is completeness within its sphere; a half authority is none at all.

If the Sanitary Commission be deemed any exception to that rule, it is known that that body has gradually resigned most of its dependence on government, abandoned the largest portion of its claims to any rights under government, and thrown itself mainly upon the protection of individual generals, who grant it opportunities, privileges, and temporary rights, wholly according to their individual sense of the necessity of the case, and their immediate feeling of dependence on extra governmental aid for their sick and wounded. This is as it should be, and as a better acquaintance with administration necessities would have taught at the start. Moreover, let not the success of the Sanitary Commission, as a national enterprise, delude the public with the idea that a parallel exists in the case of the Freedman's Aid Societies, however centralized they may be.

The Sanitary Commission owes its chief success to the fact that it attached itself as an outside assistance to an existing government bureau—the Medical Bureau—to which it carried its complaints, proffered the counsels of its humane constituency, lent the aid and assistance it could render through the existing machinery of the Medical Department, and thus without disturbance found a normal channel for its chief work.

What is outside of that channel is carried on by independent machinery, very costly and very laborious, and wholly without any privileges except such as the necessities of the army extort from generals in the field, without any special authority from the War Department for what they do.

Now, there is no such bureau to which the friends of emancipation and of the freedman can carry their complaints, their suggestions, or their supplementary assistance. This is precisely what is needed.

There is no reason to think that the private outside humanity of the nation will be withheld from the aid and comfort of our suffering freedmen; but their aid and comfort must be supplementary to that which the government gives through its ubiquitous agencies and its national resources. You do not expect the people of this country to undertake the care of your medical department, to build your hospitals, or man them with surgeons. They may pour seven million of stores through the Sanitary Commission into the battle-fields, and the hospitals and soldier's homes, but if the government were not, through a special bureau, directing and guiding medical affairs, and expending on the sick and wounded a hundred million—taking commissary stores, transportation, buildings, medicines, and surgeons' wages and nurses' wages into account, what would all the volunteer benevolence of the country be able to effect by its fractional, supplementary aid? And can it be expected that any outside national beneficence or zeal should do more for the freedman than it has done for the national invalid soldier? What then must become of him if left to outside care? That care will not cover more than a small fraction of his necessities, when pushed to its utmost extent. It is not an expenditure of hundreds of thousands, but of millions, that must be faced in this business. Shall the government, which will be forced by pity, shame, necessity, to expend a large amount of money before the case passes beyond its care, spend it ignorantly, at haphazard, without system or method, without the aid of the best wisdom that can be brought to bear on the subject, and without studying the best and noblest material and moral economies in the case? How can all this be effected except by a government Bureau, in which all the scattered lights on the subject are concentrated, the opportunities and facilities afforded by existing machinery studied, and the operations of the government thoroughly coördinated? The case seems fully made out. There ought to be, on grounds of economy, humanity and necessity, a government Bureau of Emancipation.

Sir, if you bring this great subject to the attention of Congress, will you not attract their notice to the fact that the question of expense in this business is not relieved by covering it up? The government is already at expense (seemingly great expense) in feeding and clothing the freedmen thrown on its hands. But this expense is very largely balanced by the cheaply paid labor it secures, and it is doubtful whether the nation is really not saving money by its humanity.

In one district in Tennessee, where four thousand freedmen are in government employ, it is computed that, after paying their wages, supplying their rations and their raiment, the government actually saves $42,000 per month, considering what it would be compelled to pay for this necessary labor were it done by white hands. But, in a larger view, the economy of preserving the lives of the women and the children of the freedmen, even if of great immediate expense to the government, is of the most urgent utility.

Labor is, in the future, destined to be the great want of the country over which we are extending our victorious dominion. Be sure that every negro life which can be preserved in this transition state is a life which, at any reasonable or probable cost, it is in the highest degree economical to preserve.

But, apart from political economy, there is a moral economy to be considered. It is really a matter of small consequence whether the humane and successful exodus of the negro cost more or less. The honor, the dignity, the moral and religious character of this nation is at stake. Our duties to God and man are not to be sacrificed to any mere pecuniary considerations. We are bound by the highest spiritual obligations to make the process of emancipation for the slaves as safe and as little unhappy and destructive to them as possible. Again, apathy and indifference to human life—the terrible accompaniment of a state of war—is demoralizing in the extreme to civil and social order. White life is not safe when negro life is held cheap.

The neglect of the negro is self-neglect; and his abuse, or his needless decimation, is certain to produce murder and arson, and violent crimes at home. We cannot escape the vengeance inhabiting violated laws. We are members one of another, and if one of the members suffer, all of the members suffer with it. It is therefore, with an instinct of self preservation, as well as with a fear of the righteous retribution of God, that the moralized and intelligent, the humane and Christian people of this country, cry out to their National government that the forced and military emancipation of the negro shall be made as humane as the difficult and serious circumstances of the case will permit. The Christian heart, the moralized brain of the nation, will not suffer the government to do less than the utmost in the ordering of this great and solemn matter.

Let not this anxiety for a "Bureau of Emancipation," as an expression and organ of government solicitude and care, be confounded with a disposition to overdo the care of the freedmen; to come between them and the natural laws of political economy; to substitute supervision and direction for their own intent energies and self-helplessness. The utmost latent to which the ordinary principles of free light and labor can be applied to the blacks should be insisted on; the least possible done for them, the most possible expected of them; as little difference made as can be between them and other laborers—their treatment always leaning rather to too much aid and direction. It is to learn by careful inquiry the utmost extent to which this sound canon of civilization can be applied to the freedmen that the first study of the Bureau of Emancipation would be directed. But experience has already taught that it cannot be applied to at least a million of them further than it is applied to our own children. If, in obedience to the general principle that all aid and direction is weakening to human beings, we are ready to cast our own offspring at a tender age upon their own resources, we may think it wise to deal with like Spartan severity with the freedmen, of whom so many are children in character when not children in years. We must lend leading strings to these children of liberty, and, would we have them go alone, see that they do not dash out their brains before they learn to walk.

Mr. President, we humbly decline here to indicate the precise organization of the Bureau of Emancipation. We do not ask for a new department, sufficient as the occasion might be to justify it, but only a new bureau. It is because the proper organization of this bureau requires a knowledge, which we do not possess, of all the governmental and administrative and military questions relating to it, that we do not presume to dogmatize on the subject. A proper Congressional Committee, authorized to call for persons and papers, might very soon collect information and wisdom sufficient to guide it discreetly and successfully through this preliminary matter of what the bureau should be and in what department placed. The exceptional nature of its duties would call for exceptional resources, and if it had even a divided allegiance to several departments, or were even an independent bureau, like a free city beside the great States of Europe, considering that its existence might be in the act creating it limited to five or ten years, it would not introduce a dangerous precedent, or disturb the organic harmony of the General government.

One thing, however, which happily falls within your own responsibility, the personnel of such a bureau, we may in a final word be permitted to advert to. The success of the measure would depend largely upon the person placed at the head of the bureau. Moses himself required heavenly wisdom to guide the ancient people out of Egyptian bondage. The nation's official guide of the freedmen through their wilderness certainly would need a wisdom, a purity, a vigor, and a humanity as great as is ever vouchsafed to merely human instruments. The piety, the sense, the humanity of the American people, will ask for nothing short of the most consummate ability, the purest integrity, the broadest and tenderest humanity, the most profound economical and political wisdom, at the head of a bureau which, if it is created, more than any other, will be the birth of our Christian civilization, the object of the gratitude, the support, the watchful attention, and the earnest prayers of the nation. We beg of you, Mr. President, to lend your great influence and guidance to the creation of a "Bureau of Emancipation," and next, your most firm, and patient, and conscientious attention to the selection of the wisest and ablest head the nation affords, for the chief of the new organization.

Imploring the blessing of God on the nation, the freedman, the country's cause, and the President of the United States, we are, with profound respect, your Excellency's fellow-citizens and fellow-countrymen.

STEPHEN COLWELL, President of Joint Committee.
EDWARD ATKINSON,
GEORGE CABOT WARD, } Secretaries.
J. M. WALDEN,
FRANCIS GEORGE SHAW, President National Freedman's Relief Association, of New York.
HENRY WARD BEECHER of New York.
HENRY W. BELLOWS of New York.
GEORGE CABOT WARD of New York.
C. R. ROBERT of New York.
STEPHEN COLWELL of Philadelphia.
J. WHEATON SMITH of Philadelphia.
ELIAS YARNALL of Philadelphia.
FRANCIS R. COPE of Philadelphia.
ADAM POE, President "Western Freedman's Aid Committee," of Cincinnati.
EDWARD HARWOOD of Cincinnati.
LEVI COFFIN of Cincinnati.
J. M. WALDEN of Cincinnati.
J. M. FORBES of Boston.
EDWARD ATKINSON of Boston.

Mr. ELIOT (Un., Mass.) introduced the following bill in the House on the 14th inst., which was referred to a Select Committee of nine, viz: Messrs. Eliot, Kelley, Knapp, Orth, Boyd, Kalbfleisch, Cobb, Anderson, and Middleton.

A BILL TO ESTABLISH A BUREAU OF EMANCIPATION.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That an office is hereby created in the War Department to be called the Bureau of Emancipation, and the President of the United States is hereby authorized to nominate, and, with the advice and consent of the Senate, to appoint a Commissioner of Emancipation, with an annual salary of four thousand dollars, to whom shall be referred the adjustment and determination, under the direction of the Secretary of War, of all questions arising under this act or under any laws now existing or hereafter to be enacted, touching the general superintendence, disposition, and direction of all persons being freedmen of African descent, who are or shall become free by virtue of any proclamation, law, or military order issued, enacted, or promulgated during the present rebellion, or by virtue of any act of emancipation which shall be enacted by any State for the freedom of persons held to service or labor within such State. And the said Commissioner shall have authority to appoint, under the direction of the Secretary of War, such number of clerks, not exceeding —— of each class, as shall be necessary for the proper transaction of the business of said bureau.

SEC. 2. And be it further enacted, That it shall be the duty of all military and civil officers charged with the execution of any law of the United States, or of any military order, by virtue of which any person of African descent, who shall have been theretofore held as slaves within the United States, shall be discharged from service or labor, to make return of all their proceedings in execution thereof to said Commissioner, under such regulations and in such form as shall be from time to time prescribed by the Secretary of War.

SEC. 3. And be it further enacted, That said Commissioner shall, under the direction of the Secretary of War, be charged with the execution of all laws providing for the colonization of freedmen, and also with the delivery of any bonds of the United States to any State which shall become entitled thereto by reason of the emancipation of slaves within such State, and of any act of Congress authorizing the issue of such bonds, in compensation therefor.

SEC. 4. And be it further enacted, That the said Commissioner shall, under the direction of the Secretary of War, establish suitable and proper regulations from time to time, and cause the same to be enforced, for the needful, economical, and judicious treatment and disposition of all persons named in the first section of this act, to the end that said freedmen and the government of the United States shall be mutually protected, and their respective rights and interests duly determined and maintained. And said Commissioner shall, before the commencement of each session of Congress, make full report of all acts done in his department to the Secretary of War, who is hereby directed to communicate the same to the Congress of the United States.

LOVE.

BY MRS. CAROLINE A. MASON.

I do not ask it thee! That is not love
That waits to be entreated; love is free
As God's own life, and of itself doth move.
Should I say, "Love me?" Rather let me prove
Myself to be love-worthy; then let be.
And yet, what wretched shame our sad eyes see!
"I love my Love because my Love loves me."
Oh, pitiful! Hast thou no gage above
Another's thought by which to rate thine own—
No worthier trust nor surer corner-stone
To build thy temple of sweet hopes upon?
God help thee at thy need, and give thee strength
To bear the shock of trial, when, at length,
Thine hour shall write thee desolate and undone!

Sitting in this sweet stillness all alone,
I thank my God that, with mine eyes upon
His holy stars, I can say reverently,
I love my Love because in him I see
Great nobleness, worthy of all love;
A soul all meannesses and feints above;
A manly front that dares to face the Right—
That, shouldering Truth, stands ready for the fight,
And following Duty, walks in her sweet light.
O ye glad stars that overspread the night!
I cannot see you for these happy tears,
Yet know you shining still. So Love appears.
I cannot pierce these misty, human years,
That hide God's great hereafter; yet I know
My love still shining there as here below,
Only with purer, more ecstatic glow.
For is not love immortal? Stars shall fall,
And the weird music of the jostling spheres
Crash into silence! Love, my love, o'er all
Shall throb its calm, grand pæan undismayed,
By nothing daunted and of nought afraid,
Though old worlds crumble, or though new be made!

Yet I am human. Father! help me, lest,
'Mid earth's defilements, I should bear unblest
The large contentment of my life's sweet lot;
Lest in the gift the Giver be forgot,
Whose name is Love—without whom love is not.
Of thine own fullness, thine own strength bestow;
So, leaning ever on thy gracious breast,
Keeping my life's love sacred as a guest
That shall abide forever—nay, as part
Of my own soul, immortal as the rest—
I shall not need to pass the veil in quest
Of thee and thy dear angels, but shall know
My heaven on earth, my bliss begun below.
"Amen!" my heart replies; "Amen! 'tis even so."

—*Christian Inquirer.*

RADICALISM IN FLORIDA.

Correspondence of The Tribune.

FLORIDA HOUSE, ST. AUGUSTINE, Dec. 23, 1863.

UNDERSTANDING that movements of considerable political importance tending to the reorganization of the State of Florida and its return to the Union were about to be inaugurated, it was with no ordinary pleasure I accepted an invitation to join a pleasant, and in one sense, so far as Florida is concerned, historical party.

The gentlemen who left Port Royal last Tuesday had been long engaged previous to the war in developing the resources of the State but ever since have been exiled from their homes, learning through various sources that the loyal people of Florida in widely different sections of the State desired to express their loyalty, resolved upon giving form to that expression through the ordinary channels of public meetings, speeches and resolutions. Foremost among the party on board the Maple Leaf and who have been tried as by fire, were Judges L. D. Stickney of Fort Myers, Wm. Alsop of Jacksonville, John H. Sammis, and C. L. Robinson of Fernandina, and many of the oldest inhabitants of the valleys of the St. Mary's and the St. John's.

The loyalty of these gentlemen has never been questioned. They have all risked their lives and sacrificed their fortunes for the maintenance of the Union. Judge Stickney early in the commencement of the Rebellion was driven from his home at Fort Myers under threat of being hung or shot if he ever again crossed its threshold. Mr. Robinson saw with his own eyes his home and many thousands in personal property burned by rebel hordes a few hours before the first occupation of Jacksonville by the national troops. Col. Sammis, possessed of a large property in slaves and in real estate, preferred that all the former should be emancipated and the latter confiscated by the rebel government rather than swear allegiance, to use his own language, to the most despotic government on the face of the earth. It is eminently fitting, therefore, that [a] movement so important as the return of a rebellious State to the Union should be inaugurated by these men. Long residents of the State, and deeply and personally interested in her welfare, they have a right to speak in her behalf, and their united voice should be heard not only by all the loyal people of Florida but by all the loyal people of the nation—should be heard and heeded, and every utterance encouraged and strengthened by all the means within the power of the National government.

Public notice having been given that these old and highly-esteemed loyal citizens had once more returned and were desirous of initiating a movement for the restoration of Florida, a large and most enthusiastic meeting of the loyal people of Florida was held on the evening of the 19th inst., for the purpose and object set forth in the following resolutions. The Hon. D. R. Dunham presided, and C. L. Robinson and G. N. Papy acted as Secretaries. Judge Dunham, on taking the chair, appealed to his fellow-citizens, with whom he had resided for more than twenty years, to rally around the old banner, which everywhere was the symbol of good government, of justice and of freedom. To its protecting [a]egis were we indebted for all our blessings. When mad ambition and wicked rebellion struck, woes unnumbered followed.

On motion, the Chairman appointed L. D. Stickney, C. Bravo, and James W. Allan a Committee to report resolutions. The Committee submitted the following report:

Your Committee to whom the subject of restoring Florida was referred, beg leave to report:

First: That it is indispensable to the welfare of the State of Florida that all participation and responsibility for the existing rebellion be distinctly disavowed, and that proper measures be immediately adopted for reorganizing the State government on the basis of absolute loyalty to the Union and the Constitution.

Second: That the Convention which passed the Ordinance of Secession had and could have no authority to dissolve the relation of the State of Florida to the United States, and that all acts of said Convention with that object were null and void, and only operated to bring the State and its citizens into rebellion against the United States, and subject them all to the evils, responsibilities, and consequences of belligerency against the National government.

Third: That the resumption of Federal relations in the Union, with such reforms of State Constitution as will make future secession and rebellion impossible, is the first interest of Florida and the first duty of the citizen.

Fourth: That among these reforms we recognize as foremost in importance that of recognizing the fact that ALL persons in the State are FREE, and providing by fundamental law that SLAVERY shall be henceforth prohibited; and next, that of preventing the exercise of the elective franchise by any person who has been engaged in the rebellion against the United States, and has not satisfactorily established his fidelity to the National government and its laws.

Fifth: That we will proceed at once to the organization of Florida under the Constitution and Laws of the United States, and to that end invite all loyal citizens who will take an oath of allegiance to the Constitution of the United States in the terms following, or in equivalent terms, to assemble in their respective election districts and vote for members of a Convention to amend the State Constitution with a view to the early restoration of the State to the Union:

FORM OF OATH.

I, A. B., do solemnly swear that I will bear true faith and allegiance to the Constitution and government of the United States, any law, Constitution or ordinance of any State to the contrary notwithstanding; that I have no part and will take no part in the existing rebellion against the government of the United States, and will in no way give aid, comfort or countenance to any person engaged therein; that I will obey and observe all the laws of Congress touching slavery and all the conditions of slavery, and all proclamations of the President of the United States relating to the same subject; and that I will do what in me lies to induce all others within the circle of my influence to do the same.

Sixth: That Phillip Fraser, H. G. Plants, L. D. Stickney, G. N. Papy, W. C. Morrill, C. Bravo, Peter Bennet, C. L. Robinson, Chas. Hone, D. R. Dunham, Bartelo Oliveras and J. W. Allen, be a committee, with power, to take the measures proposed in the foregoing resolutions, and that a majority of said committee, who shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business, be authorized to make substitution or addition to their number.

Seventh: That it is desirable that delegates assemble in convention at the City of St. Augustine, Fla., on Tuesday, March 1, 1864, to amend the State Constitution in conformity to these resolutions.

On motion of C. L. Robinson, the foregoing resolutions were unanimously adopted. The vote was followed by tremendous applause. Eloquent addresses were then made by the Hon. L. D. Stickney, the Hon. C. L. Robinson, Adolf Majer and others, glowing with patriotic fire and noble devotion to the proclamation of the President and the laws of Congress, which, in proportion as they sweep Slavery from the soil of the Union, make the whole people homogeneous and united.

The remarks of Judge Stickney, who was loudly called for from every part of the large hall, were in substance as follows:

"MY FRIENDS: This occasion is an era in the history of Florida. We are on an old soil, filled with historical recollections. Here, more than three hundred years ago, Spanish adventurers came to plant the bloody standard of tyranny and slavery. Valasquez, Narvaez and De Soto were rewarded according to their works. They found a simple and confiding people, they enslaved them; violence, inhumanity and desolation are the staple events in their history. That primal curse of civilization, slavery, has survived all the changes of sovereignty over Florida to the present time, whether Spanish, French, English or American. The resolutions which you have heralded to the world without a dissenting voice, are the harbingers of better things, of peace and good will to all men. They go back to the Declaration of Independence, and from that great charter of human liberty you take your departure on the voyage of civil and political life. You may meet with difficulties, delays and disappointments may hinder your progress, but so sure as God liveth and reigneth you will triumph, and generations to come will point to you as their benefactors. My friend Dr. Major has told us how heartily he endorses these resolutions, and what magic effect they will produce among his countrymen (Germans), both in America and Europe. They are a sober, industrious, liberty-loving people, distinguished for their virtue, and this is the character Tacitus gave them 2,000 years ago. Under free institutions they will come by thousands to make their homes in Florida. Where secession, like the tramp of the artillery horse, has blighted even the grass of the field, they will cause the earth to put forth her increase and her waste places to blossom like the rose. War is destruction. The brave soldiers who are here, and who are come here, are the first born in the land. Surrendering ease, comfort, the endearments of home, they voluntarily offered their lives upon their country's altar, that the nation may live. But a soldier's vocation is not yours. The Union army will drive the rebel from the soil of Florida, or conquer them into submission to the Constitution and laws of the United States. You are to organize civil government, and to so organize it that secession and rebellion will be impossible in future. A government of law as contradistinguished from the bully and the bowie-knife—a government which will protect honest men and punish bad men—a government under which the gentleman without character or money, but with his pockets full of pistols and knives, must migrate or go to the workhouse. Finally, with this declaration, you anxiously inquire: 'Will the President abandon us to our enemies?' No! I repeat it, No! He cannot! He would not if he could! Patriots, good men and true, everywhere, are with you. God is with you, and you will never be forsaken."

The remarks of Doctor Adolf Majer, to the effect that large numbers of loyal Germans would flock to the valleys of Florida rather than the plains of Nebraska and Dakota, were received with great satisfaction. Indeed, all that this able and loyal German said was patriotic and practical in the extreme, and I regret that I cannot subjoin his entire speech.

N. P.

THE MOTHER-CHURCH.

BY JOHN JAMES PIATT.

I FELT the organ tremor sweet,
Homeless within the Sabbath street;
It whispered, low and deep and mild,
"Come home, thou weary, wandering child,
Lost in the wilderness and dust
Of Pride and Folly and Mistrust;
Weary and world-sad, cast away,
Thy Father calls thee home to-day.

Within the church's portal wide
I entered, and the music died:
Without, the organ tremor sweet—
Within, the fierce polemic heat;
I heard the subtle voice no more,
Whose music called me through the door.

I passed into the woodland air:
Strange breezes kissed me everywhere;
Strange birds from out the boughs above
Sang sister-sweet to me; a dove
Coo'd close and quiet, and her nest
Some strange sweet dove made in my breast.
When, lo! the organ's whisper mild,
"Come home, thou weary, wandering child;
Weary and world-sad, cast away,
Thy Father calls thee home to-day."

I felt the organ tremor sweet:
The pure flowers kissed my homeless feet,
And a sweet influence, close and free,
Twined arms around me lovingly,
Lost in the wood alone; and there
The organ's pulses beat the air,
Till in my heart a voice I caught:
"I am thy Mother long unsought;
Thou orphan from thine earliest day
In the world's dewless dust astray,
My arms have waited long for thee:
Thy Father called thee home to me."

—*Commonwealth.*

WENDELL PHILLIPS.

Boston Correspondence of The Springfield Republican.

THERE does not seem to be much reason for despondency at the end of the first year of emancipation. If we are in no such state of exhilaration as we were six months ago, when Gettysburg and Vicksburg news burst upon us, we have a calm assurance of a victorious close of the war. A year ago it took a pretty sanguine man to prophesy, with any great degree of confidence, our success. Full half the people, probably, had their doubts about it. How is it now? Not one man in a hundred has any misgivings. This is in itself victory. There is a time in all enterprises, whether great and arduous like war and courtship, or little and unimportant like starting a newspaper or managing a caucus, when a sagacious man is able to say, I've got 'em (or him, or her, or it). That time has now come to this people; they know that we have got 'em, to wit, the rebels, and Europe knows it too, and the rebels themselves are fast finding it out.

Yet Mr. Phillips will talk to-night as if there might be a doubt about our actual possession of the scoundrels. I suppose he partly or wholly thinks so, and his policy is to criticize and push and urge, even to the point of denunciation and bitterness. He does incalculable service. The more such critics the better. What he says about Mr. Chase, if unjust, he will himself take back within a year, as he has taken back, in effect, his hard words against Mr. Lincoln. I don't quite understand his bitterness toward Mr. Chase. If the Secretary had a chance for the Presidency, I don't think, spite of Margaret Garner, any anti-slavery man ought to object; but he has no chance. No party would be so insane as to nominate a man who might be made the subject of universal detestation, or ridicule, by a financial panic, within a week of the election. So if Mr. Phillips is fighting against Chase as a Presidential candidate, he is beating the air at random. The Ohio Secretary is a great man intellectually, and I believe has convictions on the subject of slavery, which is more than can be said of any other prominent member of the Cabinet, but he has no element of popularity with the masses, and is nowise likely to be nominated for President. Aside from this attack on Mr. Chase, Mr. Phillips's speech on the amnesty will be very valuable and useful. His influence on this contest has been prodigious. This has been emphatically the people's war. From the day of the great uprising, after Sumter, everything has been done by the people. Lincoln, Seward and the rest, have been waiters, not upon Providence, but upon public opinion. Luckily they have not always reckoned the votes at the elections as public opinion; if they had, we should have had a revocation of the proclamation before January, 1863. But they have had sense enough to see that the voice of the wisest is the voice of the people, or soon will be. It is the pertinacious and indefatigable efforts with tongue and pen and money of the earnest men of the North, led on by the radical leaders, which has brought public opinion at last into the right channels. Among the foremost of these leaders has been Mr. Phillips. His splendid eloquence has brought hearers to him, and his sharp, incisive way has compelled the newspapers to print what he says, and so, between hearers and readers, he has reached almost everybody. But he is not a "candid" man! Thank Heaven for that! Times of peril and revolution are not times for candor. Let the historian, in the year 1964, tell the world what he thinks of the comparative merit of different men and different plans; but if anybody has got an opinion or a conviction now let him state it, and enforce it, and drive it home. Give me the urgent whip, rather than the "candid" breeching, for such times as these. If Mr. Phillips had been nothing better than a candid man, he might have edited a Washington Administration organ, or been the Washington correspondent of a Boston newspaper, and offended nobody, not even the Copperheads. It takes weekly deputations of uncandid and terribly one-sided Abolitionists, from Boston and New York and Chicago and St. Louis, to keep the President and his Secretaries posted up as to their duties and the demands of public opinion. They have enlightened the honest Abe, silenced the foolish Blair, driven the Secretary of State from contradiction to contradiction until his only resource is to print a thousand pages more of correspondence, with the hope that he may overwhelm and drown out the world and posterity with words, words, words. And they must keep it agoing, and they will. So good luck to Wendell Phillips to-night.

COTTON NOT KING.

[Extract of a letter to *The Liberator* from George Thompson, Esq.]

London, Dec. 4.—I have made several speeches lately for the purpose of showing how completely the sceptre has departed from King Cotton. Great Britain is at this moment absolutely independent of the Southern States for the supply of the raw material of her cotton manufacture. The rebels may burn their cotton, or export it, as they please, for it is not necessary to the present or future prosperity of our cotton trade that we should receive another bale of their produce; not only so, but it would be greatly to the advantage of our distant dependencies and of the world at large that we should not. The effect of the stoppage of our supply from America has been to impart a mighty stimulus to the exertions of the inhabitants of other parts of the world, the climate and soils of which are adapted to the cultivation of the cotton plant.

I have given much attention to this subject recently; and upon the most authentic and trustworthy data—much of it official—I am able to state with confidence, that our imports of cotton for the coming year (1864) will be at the rate at least of 45,000 bales per week, and will be more than sufficient to give employment to all the hands then available.

From India we shall receive about 1,